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CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Patna District Gazetteer.

Page, 9, Table X, column 10, *for* the present figures, *read* 6 0
5 0
6 0
5 0
3 0
2 6
2 0
4 0
8 0
6 0
,, 19, ,, XXI, last column, against cross-head 17, *for* "245 " *read* "1,245."
,, 19, ,, XXI, ,, ,, ,, ,, 20, ,, "89,061 " ,, "1,89,061."
,, 19, ,, XXI, ,, ,, ,, ,, 24, ,, "4·5 " ,, "104·5.",
,, 24, ,, XXVI, column for 1893-94, against "Institutions " in cross-head 7 *insert* "2."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Gayā District Gazetteer.

Page 11, Table XIV, last column, 2nd line, *for* "355 " *read* "335."
,, 21, ,, XXIV, column 7, line 2, ,, "30·4 " ,, "20·4."
,, 27, ,, XXVIII, foot-note, ,, "unds " ,, "funds."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Shāhābād District Gazetteer.

Page 3, Table II, column 13, line 6, *for* "193 " *read* "423,193."
,, 3, ,, II, foot-note, last line ,, "710,471 " ,, "1,710,471."
,, 9, ,, IX, head-not[illegible] line ,, "wit " ,, "with."
,, 18, ,, XXII, column 6, heading ,, "1994-95 " ,, "1894-95."
,, 28, ,, XXIX, ,, 6, line 6 ,, "110 25 " ,, "110·25."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Sāran District Gazetteer.

Page 7, Table V, column 10, line 3, *for* "14,688 " *read* "4,688."
,, 17, ,, XX, last column, cross-head 2, ,, "16,933 " ,, "76,933."
,, 17, ,, XX, ,, ,, 10, ,, "3830 " ,, "38,130.

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Champāran District Gazetteer.

Page 1, contents, against Table I, Rainfall, *insert* "3" after "2 &."

" 9, Table IX, last column, against Rice *for* { 12—0 to "12—0" } *read* { 12—0 to "12—12¾" }

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer.

Page 5,	Table	IV,	column	7, line 11, *for* "2,101" *read* "1,101."
" 6,	"	VI,	"	1, put "*" against Sītāmarhi, Hājīpur and Lālganj.
" 7,	"	VI,	"	13, last line, *for* "0·75" *read* "0·57."
" 9,	"	X,	"	3, heading " "1893" " "1894."
" 11,	"	XIII,	"	5, line 1, *insert* "247" against number of suits.
" 17,	"	XX,	last column line 1,	*for* "2,158" *read* "2,358."
" 17,	"	XX,	" "	" 5, " "34" " "334."
" 20,	"	XXIII,	column	4, *insert* "1" against Mahuwā thānā.
" 29,	"	XXIX,	"	for 1899-1900, line 6, *for* "9·45" *read* "99·45."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Darbhangā District Gazetteer.

Page 2, Table	I,	column 4, against month August, *for* "13·0" *read* "10·3."
" " "	VI,	" 13 " serial No. 13 " "3·" " "3·90."
" " "	"	" 13 " " " 14 " "390" " "3·67."
" 9, "	X,	last column, against cross-head "Boy." *for* "1" *read* "1—6."
" 13, "	XV,	column for 1900-01 against serial No. 4, " "5,61,695" " "5,01,695."
" 16, "	XIX,	" " 1895-96 " " No. 5, *insert* "1."

B. S. Press—30-7-1906—10702 to 10708—530—C. A. P.

TO THE

B *Volume of the Burdwān District Gazetteer.*

Page 9, Table IX, column for 1895, against cross-head Wheat in Katwa *for* "19" *read* "19–6."
Page 9, " " " " " " cross-head Rice " " " "17" " "17–6."

Page 28, " XXIX " 2, cross-head 6, for "Kālnā Ward's State dispensary" " "Kālnā Ward's Estate dispensary."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B *Volume of the Bīrbhūm District Gazetteer.*

Page 6, Table V, column 4, last line, *for* "0,379" *read* "20,379."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B *Volume of the Bānkurā District Gazetteer.*

Page 3, Table I, column for 1900–01, against cross-head 7, *for* "08" *read* "0·8."
" 25, " XXVI, last " 2nd line " "97,345" " "37,345."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B *Volume of the Midnapore District Gazetteer.*

Page 1, Contents, page No. against Table XIX			*for*	"18 & 1"	*read*	"18 & 19."
" 9, Table	VI, column 13,	line 3,	"	"·86"	"	"3·86."
" " "	" " 12,	" 13,	"	"0·27"	"	"0·37."
" 21, "	XXI,	in foot-note	"	"19010-2"	"	"1901-02."
" 23, "	XXIII, column 11, cross-head 48		"	"5"	"	"15."
" 25, "	XXV, " 9,	line 9,	"	"04"	"	"0·4."
" 27, "	" " "	last "	"	"60"	"	"6·0."
" " "	" " 10,	" 2,	"	"12"	"	"12·5."

" 33, " XXIX, " for 1896-97 against cross-head 3 *for* "44·07" *read* "44·07."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Hooghly District Gazetteer.

Page 4, Table	IV,	column 3, against Krishnanagar		*for*	"1,638"	*read*	"11,638."
,, 16, ,,	XX,	,, for 1894-95	line 2,	,,	"38,845"	,,	"38,945."
,, ,, ,,	,,	,, ,, ,,	last ,,	,,	"16,607"	,,	"16,707."
,, 20, ,,	XXIV,	,, ,, 1893	,, 2,	,,	"6"	,,	"6·5."

CORRECTION SLIP

TO THE

B Volume of the Howrah District Gazetteer.

Page 2, Table	II,	foot-note, line 2,		*for*	"gures"	*read*	"figures."
,, 9, ,,	XI,	column 3,		,,	"1 94"	,,	"1894."
,, 20, ,,	XXV,	foot-note		,,	"Inclueds"	,,	"Includes."
,, 21, ,,	,,	column 9,	line 9,	,,	"0·7"	,,	"10·7."
,, 23, ,,	XXVI,	,, for 1895-96	,, 2,	,,	"83,393"	,,	"33,393."
,, 27, ,,	XXX,	last column	,, 3,	,,	"0·8"	,,	"30·8."

B. S. Press—16-8-1906—10713 to 18—525—C. A. P.

BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

SANTAL PARGANAS.

[*Price—In India, Rs. 3: in England, 4s. 6d.*]

BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

SANTAL PARGANAS

BY

L. S. S. O'MALLEY,

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

CALCUTTA:

THE BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPÔT.

1910.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT too fully acknowledge my obligations to Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., Director of Land Records, Bengal, who very kindly placed at my disposal a proof copy of his Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in the Santāl Parganas. I beg also to express my thanks to the Revd. P. O. Bodding for the valuable notes on the Santāls which he contributed, and to Mr. H. W. P. Scroope, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Santāl Parganas, and Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Santāl Parganas, for the assistance they rendered in revising the proofs and supplying material.

L. S. S. O'M.

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GAZETTEER

OF THE

SANTAL PARGANAS.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

THE district known as the Santāl Parganas, which forms the south-eastern portion of the Bhāgalpur Division, lies between 23° 40′ and 25° 18′ north latitude, and between 86° 28′ and 87° 57′ east longitude. It contains a population of 1,809,737 persons, as ascertained by the census of 1901, and it extends over 5,470 square miles. It is thus almost as large as the three English counties of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, and it has nearly three-quarters of a million more inhabitants. Its greatest length is 120 miles from the Ganges on the north-east to the river Barākar on the south-west; its average length from north to south is about 100 miles, and its breadth from west to east is nearly the same. Dumkā, or Nayā Dumkā, is the administrative headquarters of the district. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The Santāl Parganas are bounded on the north by the districts of Bhāgalpur and Purnea; on the east by Mālda, Murshidābād and Bīrbhūm; on the south by Burdwān and Mānbhūm; and on the west by Hazāribāgh, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur. The boundary on the north and the east of the district is defined for some distance by the river Ganges, which separates the Santāl Parganas from Purnea and Mālda, while portions of the southern boundary coincide with the Barākar and Ajai rivers, which separate it from Mānbhūm and Burdwān. Boundaries.

The district is an upland tract with a hilly backbone running from north to south. To the north and east it is flanked by a long but narrow strip of alluvial soil hemmed in between the river Ganges and the Rājmahāl Hills. These hills rise abruptly from the plains, forming a wall 1,000 to 2,000 feet high, which Configuration.

juts out into the Gangetic valley and forces the Ganges to bend to the east before it finally takes its southerly course to the sea. From Sāhibganj they stretch southwards in an extensive range, which is divided into two portions by the Burhait or Manjhwā valley. This range and its outliers form a central block of hilly country, some 2,000 square miles in area, of which 1,356 square miles are included in the Government estate of the Dāmin-i-koh. To the north-west of the range lies a level fertile tract known as Tappa Manihāri, and to the west and south the hills give place to a series of rolling ridges and undulating uplands, from which rise isolated hills and ridges of sharp and often fantastic outline.

Natural divisions.

Broadly speaking, the district may be divided into three parts, viz., the hilly portion, which covers about three-eighths of the entire area, the rolling country covering half of it, and the flat country, which occupies the remainder. The hilly part of the district stretches continuously for about 100 miles from the Ganges at Sāhibganj to the southern boundary of the district a little north of Surī. It is made up of a medley of hill ranges and valleys, and includes the whole of the Dāmin-i-koh and the southern and eastern portions of the Dumkā subdivision. The hills are in many parts still covered with jungle, while in the valleys, some of which are of considerable size, are scattered small villages surrounded by cultivated clearings. The rolling country includes the whole of the west and south-west of the district. It contains long ridges with intervening depressions, in places rocky and in places covered with scrub jungle. The third division consists of a fringe of low land between the Ganges and the hills, which is largely cultivated with rice and liable to annual inundation. Beginning at the north-west corner of the district (Tappa Manihāri) it forms a narrow and practically continuous strip of alluvial soil, about 120 miles long, lying for the most part along the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway in the Rājmahāl and Pākaur subdivisions. Its total area is about 500 square miles.

Scenery.

In the alluvial tract to the south-east the scenery resembles that of the Gangetic valley, but is relieved from tameness by the background of hills. The scenery is far more picturesque in the hilly and undulating tracts which make up the rest of the district, and has been well described by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S. "The upland country, which is now a land of smiling cultivation, is not devoid of hills, but these are either isolated peaks like Phuljori or small ranges like Teor. Their isolation makes them prominent, and they stand up boldly, breaking the monotony of the landscape and making a striking addition to the prospect. Phuljori is 2,300

feet high, and Teor just under 2,000 feet. They are both in the subdivision of Deoghar, from every open point of which glimpses can be caught of distant Parasnāth, the sacred mountain of the Jains, rising 4,500 feet into the western sky, some 30 miles across the Hazāribāgh border. Although the western uplands contain many picturesque spots, they are for the most part tame and uninteresting, and most of the natural beauty of the district is confined to the hills on the east.

"Here the toil of climbing up the steep hillsides is always rewarded with magnificent views. In the way of mountain pass and woodland scenery I know of nothing finer than the hill roads between Katikund and Amrāpārā in the southern hills, where the forests are protected by the State. In the deeper ranges of the northern hills I have wandered over a tumbled confusion of lofty hills and deep valleys affording views which approach in beauty those of the lower Himālayas; and nothing can be nobler than the prospect from the crest of the north-eastern circle of hills between Sāhibganj and Rājmahāl, where one looks down the steep hillsides upon the silver stream of the Ganges and the fertile plains beyond, extending as far as the eye can reach."*

HILL SYSTEM. **Rājmahāl Hills.**

The principal range in the district is that of the Rājmahāl Hills, which stretch from Sāhibganj on the Ganges to Nangalbangā on the Rāmpur Hāt road close to the south-eastern boundary of the district. They consist of a succession of hills, plateaux, valleys and ravines, the general elevation of which varies from 500 to 800 feet above sea-level, though some hills have an altitude of 1,500 feet and a few are said to rise to the height of 2,000 feet. Among these loftier peaks may be mentioned Mahuāgarhī (1,665 feet), which it was at one time proposed to make a sanitarium, though the valleys by which it is reached are notoriously unhealthy. The highest points in the range are believed to be Mori, a fine peak about 2,000 feet in altitude, and Sendgarsā, both of which overlook the Burhait valley. This, the central valley of the hills, extends over 24 miles from north to south with an average width of 5 miles. It is surrounded by hills, but there are five narrow passes leading to the plains—the Chaparbhitā to the south-west, the Manjhwā to the north-west in the direction of Bhāgalpur, the Ghātiāri to the east, the Margo to the south-east, and a fifth north-east to Rājmahāl. The valley is drained by the river Morel or Moran, which, flowing from the north, has scoured out a long ravine, and by the Gumāni coming from the south-west through the Chaparbhitā pass. These rivers

* Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Santāl Parganas, 1909.

meet at Burhait, and the united stream, which is called the Gumāni, flows along the Ghātiāri pass, and thence through the plains to the Ganges. Further south the Bānsloi, a fine broad stream, intersects the hills, flowing along the Pachwārā or Kendwā pass, which runs through the range from east to west. There are also numerous small streams flowing down nearly every ravine and valley, which afford an abundance of pure fresh water. To the north-east the hills abut upon the Ganges, leaving only a narrow passage along which the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway passes. This belt contracts towards the north, leaving a still narrower passage, which was in Mughal times a pass of great strategic importance. It was known as the "Key of Bengal," and was defended by the fortresses of Teliāgarhi and Sakrigāli, of which the ruins may still be seen.

The interior of the range is not well known, but within its limits there are scenes of varied beauty, which contrast with its somewhat bluff exterior as seen from the railway on the east. Here there may be seen hills crowded one upon another, steep narrow ravines, wide valleys, sharp ridges and small plateaux. Among these the Santāls and Pahārias have their villages, which are often picturesquely situated on the brow of a steep hill, with cultivated fields and grass lands stretching beyond them. In the south and south-west there are broad tablelands on the crests of the ridges, which contain stretches of arable land. Throughout the rest of the range rugged peaks and ridges prevail, but the slope of the interior valleys is gentle and affords scope for the plough—and wherever a plough can work, the Santāl settlements are found, whether on the summit or the slope. The villages of the Pahārias are situated on the hill tops, the approach to which often consists of boulders piled one upon another. Millets, *sarguja* (Guizotia oleifera), pulses, and even rice may be seen covering the hills, while mangoes, jack fruit trees and palm trees thrive luxuriantly. The slopes yield large quantities of bamboos and firewood, and the spiked millet is grown in patches everywhere. A large trade has recently spring up in *sabai* grass (Ischæmum angustifolium), which is brought down from the hills to Sāhibganj, where it is baled and despatched by rail to the paper mills in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. This *sabai* cultivation has resulted in the denudation of the outer hills, and has given them that bluff appearance which the traveller observes from the railway.

A large portion of the range is included in the Dāmin-i-koh, a Persian name meaning 'the skirts of the hills.' This is a Government estate with an area of 1,356 square miles, the extreme length of which from north to south is 70 miles; its width near

the centre of the hills is 30 miles, but to the north and south it contracts to 16 miles.

The Rājmahāl Hills have been described as "classic ground for the study of Indian geology."* They consist of a succession of basaltic lava flows or traps with interstratifications of shale and sandstone. The sedimentary bands are held to have been deposited in the intervals of time which elapsed between the volcanic outbursts, by the circumstance that the different bands of shale and sandstone differ from each other in mineral character, and also that the upper surface of the shaly beds has sometimes been hardened and altered by the contact of the overlying basalt, whilst the lower surface is never affected. The sedimentary bands are chiefly composed of hard white and grey shale, carbonaceous shale, white and grey sandstone, and hard quartzose grit. The trap rocks are all dark coloured dolerites. They vary in character from a fine grained, very tough and hard rock (anamesite), ringing under the hammer, and with the edges of its fracture almost as sharp as those of a quartzite, to a comparatively soft, coarsely crystalline basalt. The latter usually contains olivine in large quantities.

Very little light is thrown on the source of the basaltic rocks by any observations within the Rājmahāl area. Dykes are rare, and there is only one instance known of an intrusive mass which may mark the site of an old volcanic outburst. This is close to the village of Simra, where a group of small conical hills occurs, composed of pinkish trachyte, porphyritic in places and surrounded by Dāmodar rocks. The surface of the ground is much obscured by superficial deposits, but there appears good reason for supposing that the core of a volcanic vent is here exposed. It appears not an unfrequent occurrence that the later outbursts from a volcano are more silicious than earlier eruptions, and that a volcanic core, even when the lava flows have been doleritic, should itself prove trachytic, when exposed by denudation. This may be due to the solution of the highly silicious metamorphic rocks through which the outburst took place by the molten lava remaining in the fissure after the eruption, and the consequent conversion of that lava from a basic into an acid rock.

The bedded basaltic traps of these hills, with their associated sedimentary beds, attain a thickness of at least 2,000 feet, of which the non-volcanic portion never exceeds 100 feet in the aggregate. There is also an important bed of laterite in these hills, Mahuāgarhi, the highest plateau in the range (1,655 feet above the sea), being capped by this formation. The laterite is, in places, as much

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* V. Ball, *Geology of the Rājmahāl Hills*, Memoirs, Geo. Surv. Ind., Vol. XIII.

as 200 feet thick, and it slopes gradually from the western scarp of the hills, where it attains its highest elevation, to the Gangetic plain on the east.

The Rājmahāl Hills have given their name to a series of the Gondwārā system, and there is also a group of sandstones and conglomerates called the Dubrājpur group after the village of that name.*

The following remarks of Sir T. H. Holdich are of interest as showing the great age of the Rājmahāl Hills :—"We are faced with the almost indisputable fact that the India of the Arāvallis† and of the Rājmahāl Hills was but an extension from South Africa. The evidence which has been collected to prove this ancient connection seems to be conclusive. Plants of Indian and African coal measures are identical, and not only plants, but the fauna of that period claim a similar affinity. Near the coast of South Africa a series of beds occur which is similar in all respects to an existing Rājmahāl series. . . . This land connection must have existed at the commencement of cretaceous times." Again he says, speaking of the prehistoric continent—"There was no Gangetic basin in those days, and it was probable that the Rājmahāl Hills and the hills of Assam continued the land area to the Himālayas east of Sikkim." He then speaks of later earth movements, and continues—"Another result of this succession of earth movements was the formation of that great Indo-Gangetic depression which forms one of the natural geographical divisions of India. The break in the connection between the Rājmahāl and Assam hills, which gave an opening for the eastward flow of the Ganges, is comparatively recent."‡

Rāmgarh Hills. In the south-east of the Dumkā subdivision, south of the Brāhmanī river, there is a small range of hills known as the Rāmgarh Hills. These hills are an extension of the Rājmahāl range, but they are not so high and they have a more rounded and undulating outline. The highest peak is Karakata, which is a land-mark for all the country round, as it rises in dome-shaped prominence from the block of hills constituting the group.

Geologically, the Rāmgarh Hills are interesting, both the Dubrājpur and Barākar subdivisions of the Gondwārā system

* This account of the geology of the Rājmahāl Hills is condensed from the notices of it contained in *The Manual of the Geology of India* by R. D. Oldham (pp. 174-6, 376).

† "Oldest of all the physical features which intersect the continent is the range of mountains known as the Aravallis, which strikes across the Peninsula from north-east to south-west, overlooking the sandy wastes of Rājputāna." [Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1907, vol. I, p. 1.]

‡ *India* (Regions of the World Series), pp. 8, 9, 10.

being represented in them. The Dubrājpur subdivision is found in a narrow strip with faulted western boundary along the western border of the range. It consists of coarse grits and conglomerates, often ferruginous, containing quartz and gneiss pebbles, with occasionally hard and dark ferruginous bands. It is unconformably overlaid by the Rājmahāl group, consisting chiefly of bedded basic volcanic lavas of the nature of dolerites and basalts. Basic dykes scattered through the gneiss area represent the underground portion of these eruptions. Intercalate between successive lava flows are aqueous, sedimentary layers containing fossil plants similar to those found near Jubbulpore and in Cutch.

Other hill ranges. Further west two parallel ranges of hills stretch in an easterly direction from Mosanjor to Rānībahal. They present a landscape of considerable beauty as seen from the Mosanjor bungalow, which looks out on a picturesque grouping of hills and dales said to rival the hills of the Dāmin-i-koh in its effects. These ranges, after crossing the Mor at Rānībahal, form the Satgarh group in *tāluk* Muhammadābād, north of Jagdīspur, and finally merge into the Sapchalā hills, one of a group of ranges passing through *tāluks* Sapchalā, Lakhanpur, Sankara and Kumrābād, which attain a considerable height in the two *tāluks* first named. The Sapchalā range breaks up into isolated hillocks after crossing the Nunbil river; and north of it, near Dumkā, there are a number of other detached hills, which rise abruptly from the plains in sharp conical masses. The most important of these are the Lagwa hills near Nunihāt and the Mikra hills on the borders of the Deoghar subdivision.

In the latter subdivision there are no continuous ranges, such hills as exist being isolated peaks in the middle of the plains. The most striking are (1) Phuljori (2,312 feet), 18 miles east of Madhupur railway station, (2) Degariā (1,715 feet), 3 miles west of Baidyanāth junction, (3) Patharda (1,505 feet), 8 miles west of Madhupur railway station, (4) Trikut Parvat, commonly known as Tiur (or Teor) Pahār, 10 miles east of Baidyanāth-Deoghar, which is 1,505 feet above the plains and about 2,500 feet above sea-level. Less important, though picturesque in appearance, are the peaks known as Jalwe, midway between Madhupur and Baidyanāth, Belmi near Phuljori, Paboi 6 miles south-east of Tiur, and Makro, 8 miles east of Paboi. With the exception of Phuljori, Tiur, Patharda, Degariā and Jalwe, which contain *sāl* and bamboo jungle, these hills are mere rocky excrescences. In the Jāmtārā subdivision also there are a few detached hills of no great size, the highest being Ghāti (1,181 feet) and Malanchā (863 feet), on which stand Government trigonometrical survey pillars.

RIVER SYSTEM. The general slope of the country is from north-west to south-east, except in the small alluvial tract lying between the Rājmahāl Hills and the Bhāgalpur boundary, where the land slopes towards the north-west and sends its drainage to the Ganges. The valley of the Barākar separates the south-west of the district from the Chotā-Nāgpur plateau, but here also the inclination is to the south-east, and the Ajai and Mor, with their numerous tributaries, carry the drainage of the western half of the district not into the Barākar, but into the Bhāgīrathī below Murshidābād. The streams which rise within the Rājmahāl Hills follow the same general direction as those of the south-western uplands, *i.e.*, from north-west to south-east, and, issuing through passes in the hills, join the Ganges after it has made its great curve southwards below Sāhibganj. With the exception of the Ganges, the rivers of the district are hill streams, with well-defined channels and high banks. In the rains they come down in flood and become rapid torrents, impassable owing to the velocity of the current, which gathers force as it sweeps down over rocky beds. In the hot season they are reduced to a mere thread of water not more than 2 feet deep, with a gentle stream trickling through the sand. The following is a brief account of the principal rivers.

Ganges. The Ganges first touches on this district a few miles west of Teliāgarhi, and flows eastwards as far as Sakrigāli, where it bends to the south-east leaving the district a short distance below Udhuā Nullah. The average width of its bed is about 3 miles, but the stream does not fill its channel in the hot weather, and almost invariably overflows it in the rains. There have been considerable changes in this portion of its course within historic times. To the north it formerly ran under the walls of the fort at Teliāgarhi, but the main stream is now far away and the East Indian Railway line runs along the alluvial deposit it has formed. To the east the main stream formerly flowed close to Rājmahāl, and about 1640 washed away many of the buildings in the city; but it is clear from Tavernier's account that by 1666 it had taken another course and was fully half a league away from Rājmahāl. In 1860, when the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway was extended to this town, an arm of the Ganges ran immediately under the station, forming a navigable channel for steamers and boats of all sizes. In 1863-64 the river abandoned this channel, leaving an alluvial bank in its place, and Rājmahāl was till 1879 3 miles distant from the main stream of the Ganges, and could only be approached by large boats during the rains. In that year the Ganges returned to its old bed, but in 1882 it showed

indications of again deserting it. Steamers are still able to approach the bank, but in consequence of these changes the bulk of trade has been transferred to Sāhibganj. Rājmahāl still retains the local traffic across the Ganges with the Mālda district, but it is reported that the river is again giving indications of deserting the town.

The most important river in the north of the district is the Gumāni, which rises in the Rājmahāl Hills in the extreme east of the Goddā subdivision and makes its way north-east through the gorges which it has scoured out for itself. At Burhait it is joined by the Morel river coming down from the north, and from this point the Gumāni flows a short distance to the east and then turns sharply to the south. Finally, after a winding course of some 30 or 40 miles, it emerges from the hills and flowing eastwards makes its way across the plains, falling into the Ganges a short distance beyond the boundary of this district. **Gumāni.**

The Bānsloi rises at a hill called Bāns Pahār in the Goddā subdivision, and flowing in a general easterly direction, forms the northern boundary of the Dumkā subdivision, separating it from the Goddā and Pākaur subdivisions. It emerges into the Dumkā Dāmin through the Pachwārā pass, and then meanders along its northern boundary past the Silingi and Kuskirā bungalows. It leaves the district near Maheshpur, and flowing past Murarai station on the East Indian Railway debouches in the Bhāgīrathī. **Bānsloī.**

The Brāhmanī rises in the west of the Dudhuā hills in the north of the Dumkā subdivision, and flowing through Pharasemul and Sankara form the southern boundary of the Dumkā Dāmin. It passes by the Jhilimili and Mosnia bungalows in the Dāmin-i-koh, and leaving the Dumkā subdivision at Darin-Mauleswar enters the Bīrbhūm district and joins the Bhāgīrathī after crossing the East Indian Railway at Nalhāti station. Its main tributaries are the Gumro and Ero, which drain the watershed between the Rāmgarh and the Dāmin hills. **Brāhmanī.**

The Mor, which drains the central portion of the Santāl Parganas, rises in the Tiur hills at the extreme north-east corner of the Deoghar subdivision. Entering the Dumkā subdivision at its north-western corner, it follows a winding south-easterly course through it, passing close to Dumkā and Kumrābād, where a line of rocky boulders rises high from its bed. Leaving the subdivision at Amjorā, it passes into the Bīrbhūm district, and joins the Bhāgīrathī after crossing the East Indian Railway at Sainthiā station. It is known as the Motihāri in its upper course, and it is only after its junction with the Bhurbhuri in *tāluk* Nawādā that it takes the name of Mor. Another name for the stream is **Mor.**

Morākhi or Mayūrākshi, the peacock-eyed, *i.e*, having water as lustrous as the eye of a peacock.

The following are the main tributaries of the Mor. The Bhurbhuri rises on the east of the Dudhuā hills and joins it at Nawādā. The Dhobai, which rises in the Goddā subdivision, flows eastwards and southwards after crossing the Bhāgalpur-Surī road, and skirting the base of the Lagwa hill, joins the Mor three miles above its confluence with the Bhurbhuri. The Tipra, coming from the west, joins the Mor at Phuljori two miles further south, the Pusaro joins it in *tāluk* Dhuria, and the Bhamri in Beludabar. The Nunbil rises in the east of the Deoghar subdivision, and entering the subdivision in *tāluk* Singro follows a south-easterly course. Then passing through Goremala, it joins the river Sidh at Bābupur. The Sidh rises in the south-east corner of the Deogarh subdivision, and flows south-east and then east through the Jāmtārā and Dumkā subdivisions, joining the Mor a few miles north of the borders of Bīrbhūm. The Dauna rises in *tāluk* Sankara north of the Rāmpur Hāt road, crosses it at the 8th mile, then meanders on the east of the Surī road, and falls into the Mor, after crossing the latter road at the 10th mile.

Ajai. The Ajai rises in the Monghyr district, and after draining the north-western corner of the Deoghar subdivision, flows in a south-easterly direction through its centre, being joined from the west by the Pathro below Sarath, and further south by the Jainti. Both these tributaries rise in the Hazāribāgh district. The Ajai enters the Jāmtārā subdivision at Kajrā and flowing southwards forms the southern boundary of the district from Kusbedia, a few miles east of the railway station at Mihijām, to Afzalpur at the extreme southern point of the Santāl Parganas.

WATER-FALLS. The most picturesque waterfall in the district is that called Motijharna, *i.e.*, the pearl cascade. This is situated about two miles south-west of the Mahārājpur railway station at the head of a picturesque glen of the Rājmahāl Hills. There are two falls, each 50 or 60 feet in height, by which the water of a small hill stream tumbles down over two ledges of rock. There are also two small falls or cascades on the Brāhmanī and Bānsloi rivers. The first is at Singhpur, where the Brāhmanī river dashes over an extensive bed of basalt, which here crosses the stream at right angles and forms a fall of about 10 feet. The other is 18 miles to the north close to the village of Kuskirā, where the bed of the Bānsloi river is crossed by a broad belt of basalt causing a fall of about 12 feet in height. The action of the water has worn the rock into a number of deep cup-like depressions, some of which are of considerable size. In the centre of the stream, below the

falls, stands an isolated group of colossal basaltic columns, one of which was measured by Captain Sherwill in 1851 and found to be 48 feet in circumference.

HOT SPRINGS.

There are several hot springs in the Pākaur and Dumkā subdivisions. In the former the hottest spring is one called simply Laulaudah (the Santāl name for hot water), which is situated near the bank of a small stream called the Boru, about half a mile north-west of Sibpur village in the Maheshpur outpost. Another hot spring near Birki in the same outpost is called Bāramāsia and by the Santāls Bhumuk. In the Dumkā subdivision six hot springs have been discovered, viz.—(1) Jhariya Pāni near Gopikandar, (2) Tatloi on the bank of the Bhurbhuri river near Palāsi, (3) Nunbil near Kendghāta, 9½ miles south-west of Kumrābād, (4) Tapat Pāni on the left bank of the Mor, 1¾ miles north of Kumrābād, (5) Susum Pāni on the opposite bank of the Mor, close to the village of Bāghmārā, 3½ miles to the south-east of Tapat Pāni, and (6) Bhumka on the right bank of the same river ¼ mile from Rānibahal. Further particulars of the springs will be found in an article by Colonel Waddell published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890. Since that date another spring called Patalganga made its appearance at Nunihāt some six years ago.

"Most of the hot springs," writes Colonel Waddell, "are held in considerable repute by the natives in the neighbourhood as potent remedies, especially for itch, ulcers and other skin affections. But a most essential part of the process of cure consists in the preliminary worship which must be paid to the presiding deity of the spring. Nearly all of these springs are worshipped by the Hindu and semi-aboriginal villagers in the vicinity; for these strange outbursts of heated water are regarded by them as supernatural phenomena and the especial expression of the presence of a deity. The deity usually worshipped at the springs by the semi-aborigines is Mātā or Māi, the "mother" goddess—one of the forms of Kālī—and large *melās* are held in her honour. She is especially worshipped by those suffering from itch and other skin diseases, also by the barren, both male and female, who all bathe in the water and drink some of it. Goats, etc., are sacrificed to her, and the rocks are daubed with vermilion or red-lead, and pieces of coloured rags are tied to the nearest bush or tree in her worship. At Nunbil the goddess is called Nunbil Devī, and she is believed to especially reside in a large *sāl* tree over the spring. At Jhāriya the Bhuiyā *ghātwāls* (of Dravidian type, with short frizzly hair) worship, with fowl sacrifice and offerings of rice, the spirit of Sonmon Pānde, a Brāhman priest, who is

said to have died there. The more Hinduized worshippers, however, believe that their favourite god Mahādeva is specially present at all those hot springs, and to him they there offer worship.

"Curiously enough, the thermal springs of relatively low temperature, which might perhaps be termed 'warm' rather than hot springs, are believed by the villagers to be hotter in the very early morning, and to become cooler as the day advances. This opinion is evidently founded on the loose subjective sensation of the villagers, who in the cool of the morning remark that the spring, being hotter than the atmosphere, gives a sensation of decided heat: which contrast becomes less marked during the day when the sun has heated up the earth and air, causing these to approach the temperature of the spring."* The same phenomenon was noticed by Professor Ball, who wrote:—"Cases of hot springs have been reported to occur in these (Rājmahāl) hills, but I did not meet with any that were more than tepid. The natives say that in most of them the water is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. This is, of course, due to the contrast afforded by the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere at the different seasons. The principal springs which I have visited were near the villages of Ruksi, Rājbhita and Puraya, west of Burio. There is also one on the Chaparbhitā range and another in the valley north-east of Burhait not far from the Mahādeo cave."†

GEOLOGY. Archæan gneiss and Gondwāna rocks constitute the greater portion of the Santāl Parganas, the latter represented principally by the volcanic rocks of the Rājmahāl Hills, which occupy an elevated strip of land along the eastern border, while to the west the undulating area that constitutes the greater part of the district consists of Bengal gneiss, which is remarkable for the great variety of crystalline rocks which it contains. The Gondwāna division consists of the Tālcher, Dāmodar, Dubrājpur and Rājmahāl groups. The Tālcher and Dāmodar belong to the lower Gondwānas, and the other two groups to the upper. The volcanic rocks of the Rājmahāl group are the predominant member of the series, and they constitute the greatest portion of the hills of that name. They are basic lavas resembling those of the Deccan trap and vary in their coarser types from a dolerite to a compact basalt in the finer-grained varieties. A trachytic intrusion situated in

* Some new and little known hot springs in South Bihar, J. A. S. B., Part II, 1890, pages 224–35.

† Geology of the Rājmahāl Hills, Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, Volume XIII.

the Hurā coal-field, about 22 miles south-east of Colgong, although petrologically quite different from the basic basalts and dolerites, may nevertheless belong to the same volcanic series. Sedimentary beds, consisting principally of hard white shales and sometimes also of hard quartzose grits or carbonaceous black shales, occur frequently intercalated between successive flows, and these are of great interest on account of the beautifully preserved fossil plants which they contain. They are mostly cycadaceous plants together with some ferns and conifers and are identical with those found in the upper Gondwāna at Jubbulpore, in Cutch and various other places, and have been of great assistance to geologists in determining the age of the series.

In the Rājmahāl Hills, the Gondwāna groups underlying the volcanic group are found principally along the western border of the range. The outcrops are very discontinuous, owing partly to the faulted nature of the western boundary, and partly to the overlaps between the different members, which in the case of the Barākars, Dubrājpur and Rājmahāl amount to a well-marked unconformity. The Tālchers are very poorly represented. They consist of the usual greenish silts and sandstones with only a local development of the well-known boulder bed. These rocks are supposed to be of glacial origin. The next group is the most important from an economic point of view, as it contains the coal measures. Along the western border of the hills it constitutes several coal-fields, which, enumerated from north to south, are (1) the Hurā coal-field, a tract about 15 miles long from north to south, commencing about 13 miles south-east of Colgong; (2) the Chaparbhitā coal-field about 10 miles further south in the valley of the Gumāni; (3) the Pachwārā field in the Bānsloi valley; and (4) the Brāhmanī coal-field in the valley of the river from which it derives its name.

In the three southern fields the Dāmodar rocks are lithologically similar to the Barākar beds of the Rānīganj coal-field, consisting of alternations of grit, sandstone and shale, with occasional beds of inferior coal. The coal-measures of the Hurā field are lithologically different: they consist of friable felspathic grits and soft white shales, with a few thick seams of inferior coal, and correspond possibly with the Rānīganj group of the Dāmodar coal-fields. The Dubrājpur group, which either intervenes between the Dāmodar and the volcanic rocks, or rests directly on the gneiss, to be overlapped in its turn by the volcanic rocks themselves, consists of coarse grits and conglomerates, often ferruginous, containing quartz and gneiss pebbles with occasionally hard and dark ferruginous bands.

The south-western portion of the district contains the small Deogarh coal-fields and the northern edge of the Rānīganj coal-field. The Tālcher and Barākar are the groups represented. The boundaries of these coal-fields are often faulted. There are numerous dykes and intrusive masses of mica peridotite and augite dolerite, the underground representatives of the Rājmahāl gneiss. The coal in the Deogarh fields is neither plentiful nor of good quality. In the north of the district the rocks disappear beneath the Gangetic alluvium.*

Mineral resources. The chief mineral products of economic value are coal, which has already been referred to, building stones, road metal, ornamental stones, lime, pottery clays, iron, copper and lead ores. The Rājmahāl Hills contain a considerable variety of rocks suitable for building purposes. The basaltic trap, if carefully chosen, affords a durable building material, which formerly was not only used in temples, forts and other structures in the immediate vicinity of the hills, but was also carried to towns situated at a distance in the plains. Besides trap, there are a number of sandstones suited for building purposes; and in some places a Tālcher sandstone is quarried on a small scale for manufacture into curry-stones, plates, etc. Laterite is found on the tops of some hills and for a considerable distance along their eastern flanks. In many places it is sufficiently compact and dense to be employed as a building material, and evidence of its having been so used is afforded by certain old forts and temples. The basaltic trap is also capable of affording an inexhaustible supply of road metal, but there are only a few localities where it is sufficiently near to rail or water carriage to render it available for export. At present, stone is quarried only on the hills bordering the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway from Murarai to Sāhibganj, the most important quarried being those established by Mr. Atkinson at Udhuā Nullah and by Mr. Ambler at Mahārājpur. The basaltic trap also yields agates and chalcedony, while common opal and various forms of rock crystal are abundant.

The nodular limestone called *kankar* or *ghuting* exists in many places both in the hills and in the country adjoining them, considerable deposits being found at Sakrigāli, where quantities of lime have been manufactured for export to Calcutta nd elsewhere. Limestone tufa encrusts the rocks at sever' ,aces in the hills, where its origin is probably due to warm springs. "The rock,"

* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Volumes VII and XIII, and Records of the Geological Survey of India, Volume XXVII. The above account was contributed by Mr. E. Vredenburg, Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

writes Professor Ball, "presents a reticulated appearance, which is chiefly due to the twigs and other foreign substances which were enveloped in the calcareous matter. This structure gave rise, no doubt, to the superstition amongst the natives that it was an accumulation of giants' bones (*asahar*), and the native account again led to the hope on the part of some of the scientific men of Calcutta that the *asahar* of the Rājmahāl Hills would prove to be an accumulation of bones similar to the mammalian fossils of the Sewālik hills." This hope proved unfounded. The principal localities at which this formation has been found are on the north flank of the Mahuāgarhi hill near the village of Amdiha and on the south near Belaidiha in the valley south-east of Chandna and south of Rājbhita, and between the villages of Gongti and Simaltalā, east of Bindrāban.

China-clay has long been known to exist at Lohandiā in the Rājmahāl Hills, and recent investigation has brought to light its existence in other localities. It occurs in three ways—(1) as the decomposition product of felspar in the fundamental gneisses and schists; (2) in the white Dāmodar sandstone, where its presence is due to the decomposition of felspar originally present in the sandstone; and (3) as beds of white china clay interbedded in the white Dāmodar sandstone. The first form is seen in some quantity at Katangi near Baskiā, at Karanpur and at Dodhāui. The second form is seen at Maugalhāt, where it is extracted by the Calcutta Pottery Company for the manufacture of china and porcelain; and it is also present throughout the Hurā coal-field, in the northern and eastern boundaries of the Dhamni coal-field, and in parts of the Chaparbhitā coal-field, chiefly near Alubaru and Amjhari. The third form occurs in the Hurā coal-field as a bed from 4 to 5 feet thick, about a quarter of a mile west of Piāram, at a place just south of the stream by Hurā on the jungle road leading to Mahuā Bathān, and also to the south of Rohri village. Fire-clay occurs somewhat plentifully on the western side of the Rājmahāl Hills, and is found mostly in the northern coal-fields, where it occurs in beds in the Dāmodar rocks.*

Iron ores are found in considerable quantities in the basaltic trap and trappean beds, as well as in the old sandstones, and are worked by iron smelters, locally called Kols. Laterite is also sometimes sufficiently rich to be worked as an ore. Copper ores exist at Beherāki in the Deoghar subdivision, and lead ores (principally argentiferous galena) in the Sankara hills and at Tiur,

* Murray Stuart, China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rājmahāl Hills, Rec, Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2 (1909), pages 133-148.

Beherāki and Pānchpahār. At Beherāki 29 oz. 8 dwts. of silver have been obtained, and at Lakshmipur near Nayā Dumkā 50 oz. 3 grs. of silver per ton of lead.

BOTANY. There are Government forests in the Dāmin-i-koh, but nearly all cultivable land having been brought under the plough, they are, for the most part, confined to the hills and the steeper ravines and slopes. In the Rājmahāl, Pākaur and Goddā subdivisions, the jungle has not been spared even on such hilly sites, for the Maler or Sauria Pahārias *jhūm* the steepest slopes, however stony, and raise a precarious crop, having been too lazy to cultivate the valleys, from which they have practically been ousted by the more energetic Santāl cultivator. The mischief done by the practice of *jhūming*, *i.e.*, shifting cultivation, is further intensified by cattle grazing, which prevents the coppice or pollards from growing up again. In the Dumkā subdivision *jhūming* is not allowed, and in the lower slopes of the hills pure *sāl* forest is found in places, but trees over 3 feet in girth are rare. Higher up, the forests are mixed forests with little *sāl* but many bamboos.

Generally speaking, the predominant tree in the district is the *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) called *sarjom* in Santāli. Its distribution is general, except where the forest has been destroyed, as is largely the case in the north of the Dāmin-i-koh estate, by *jhuming* and the cultivation of *sabai* grass. In the plains and valleys the chief trees accompanying *sāl* are *piar* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hesel* (*Semecarpus anacardium*), and *āsan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*). On the lower slopes of the hills other species appear in considerable variety, such as *Zizyphus*, *Diospyros*, *Stereospermum* and *Bauhinia*. As the hills are ascended, other species are met with, *e.g.*, bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), *murga* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), *satsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*) and *gamhār* or *kāsamar* (*Gmelina arborea*); and the proportion of *sāl* gradually grows less, till on the upper plateaux it almost disappears. On the old jhūmed lands it gives place to a dense growth of shrubby trees, chief among which are *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Wendlandia*, *Gardenia*, *Flacourtia*, *Woodfordia* and *Anogeissus*. In the moist valleys on the northern face of the Rājmahāl Hills plantains with their large leaves present a more typically tropical vegetation than is found elsewhere.

The following account of the common trees found in and near the villages is quoted from *Santalia* by the Revd. J. M. Macphail:—"The tree which is most characteristic of the Santāl country is the *sāl*, sacred to the Santāls. Of it their sacred groves consist. It is a tall erect tree with large smooth leaves, of which leaf plates are made, and of a good hard wood which makes it

extremely popular for building purposes. The banyan is also common, whose spreading branches will shelter a small army, and its cousin the *pipal*, sacred to the Hindu. The stately *semal* or Indian cotton tree, with trunk buttressed like a fort and huge red flowers often a foot in diameter; the graceful tamarind, with feathery foliage; the *nim*, whose medicinal uses are manifold, and its brother the Persian lilac; the *palās*, a blaze of colour when in blossom in the hot season; the palm, fit emblem of the righteous man; the mango with its delicious fruit, and the plebeian but even more popular jack, and the almost universally useful bamboo, are the most common and remarkable among the others. Even more economically useful than any of them is the *mahuā*. The flower of this tree is edible, and, being rich in sugar, fairly nutritious. When in full blossom in March or April, it falls from the tree in the early morning. One thinks of the manna when one sees the ground beneath the *mahuā* trees almost covered with the whitish flower, and the resemblance is enhanced when the people turn out to carefully gather it into baskets. It is dried in the sun, and may be stored for months. To many of the poorer class it is for the time their article of diet, and there are few who do not use it to eke out their food-supply. Even those who do not eat it themselves use it for feeding cattle. The fruit is also highly prized. The pulp of it is eaten and from the kernel a fine bland oil is expressed."

FAUNA.

The Santāl Parganas were formerly well stocked with big game.* Even 30 years ago it was stated in the *Statistical Account of Bengal* that tigers, leopards, bears, hyænas, deer and wild pig, with a variety of small game, were common almost everywhere, while wild elephants and rhinoceros used to be seen. Rhinoceros have now been extinct for about half a century; the last wild elephant was shot in 1893; and the larger carnivora are also scarce owing to the gradual opening up of forest areas and the spread of cultivation. Outside the Government estates the jungle is being gradually destroyed, and, with the removal of jungle, big game has almost disappeared. The Santāl, moreover, is as destructive to game as he is to jungle, and the result has been an extirpation of the smaller game, on which the larger carnivora prey, and the migration of the latter to other districts, where food is more plentiful. Not only do the Santāls kill any small game they can knock down when alone, but occasionally they organize large

* This account of the Fauna of the district has been prepared with the help of a note contributed by Mr. A. H. Mee, formerly in charge of the Santāl Parganas Forest Division.

drives. Hundreds of men gather together, and armed with spears, clubs, bows and arrows form themselves into two lines, which march for days together killing every beast and bird they meet.

Tigers were once common, so much so that the writer of *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (1867) says that "formerly it was no uncommon thing to be awoke by the sentry, and, on going out, to see at the bottom of a long walk in the garden at Pākaur a large tiger crawling with his nose to the ground." Tigers are now very rare, those met with being probably stragglers from other districts. It is true that the presence of a tiger is at times reported by the Santāls, but the probability is that the animal is a leopard. Cases of cattle lifting are attributed to tigers, but the number of such cases is insignificant. Cows and bullocks are rarely attacked, and buffaloes even less frequently; and the fact that the young of these animals, with sheep and domestic pigs, are most usually killed would seem to point not to tigers but to leopards. Some six or seven years ago a tigress with a half-grown cub wandered into the district from the Hazāribāgh forests and caused the deaths of several persons at Katikund and Susni in the Dumkā and Goddā portion of the Dāmin-i-koh and at Rājbhita in the Goddā subdivision.

Leopards are still common throughout the district and are not restricted to any particular locality. They are met with not only in the more densely wooded areas, but also in rocky and more or less isolated peaks where vegetation is scant. One or more are always to be found in certain favoured haunts, *e.g.*, in the hills in the vicinity of Sāldahā, in the lower hills near Narganj and Bokrābāndh, at Churli Pahār near Chandra in the Goddā Dāmin, and at the base of the hills to the west of Hiranpur in the Pākaur Dāmin. At the place last named caves, or rather large fissures in the rocks, are always occupied by one or more of these brutes, and though attempts have been made from time to time to drive them out and shoot them, they have met with little success. Close to Dumkā near the village of Kurwā, on the right of the road to Rāmpur Hāt, the Kurwā hill, which is a mass of rock and boulders with little if any vegetation, is another favourite haunt. The larger leopards occasionally take to cattle lifting and man-eating. The Santāls shoot them with poisoned arrows but the number killed in this way is small. Poisoning and trapping, which are resorted to in other districts of Bengal, are not commonly practised. Leopard cubs are often caught by the Santāls and are usually sold if a purchaser can be found.

Bears (*Melursus ursinus*) are fairly numerous in the forests of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumkā Dāmin, and are also common

in the Nunihât hills and many other places. They favour the higher hills, from which they descend during the night to feed, and especially hills made up of rocks piled one above another, with cavities between and beneath them. Their food consists principally of forest fruits, roots, white-ants and honey. The *mahuā* flower is a particular favourite, and to obtain this they descend to the lower hills and plains. Instances of their attacking men are not unknown. Hyænas are found in the district, but are not numerous. They are met with both in forest areas and open country, a favourite place of lying-up being the *khar* thatching grass grown close to villages.

The Ungulata have few representatives. Spotted deer or *chital* (*Cervulus axis*) are found only in the "Old Reserve" area, and even there they are not numerous. Their favourite haunts are the pure bamboo forests, grass lands and mixed forests on the higher hills. Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) are also met with in the more densely wooded areas and occasionally in small patches of forest, but they also are nowhere numerous. One or more, however, are always to be met with in the viciniy of Korcho Pahār near the Silingi bungalow. Very few wild pig are left, and the survivors keep to the deep forests. They have been all but exterminated by the Santāls, who are fond of pork, and mercilessly hunt them down and kill them wherever found.

Game birds.

In the country inhabited by the aboriginal tribes game birds have been almost exterminated. Peafowl and jungle-fowl are still found, however, chiefly in the more densely wooded tracts, besides spur-fowl (*Galloperdix spadicea*), which are also seen on rocky hills where vegetation is more sparse. All three species have now become rare. Grey partridge are met with in suitable localities all over the district, but are nowhere plentiful. Common or grey quail visit the *diāra* country along the Ganges in the cold weather, while bush quail and button quail are also met with all over the district, but are nowhere numerous. Common snipe and painted snipe are common in the Gangetic *jhils* of the Rājmahāl subdivision. The Bengal green pigeon is a denizen of the more densely wooded areas, and some are always to be met with in the low hills in the vicinity of Silingi bungalow. Golden plover are often seen in flocks in open country during the cold weather. The bronze-winged jacana and black ibis are very common, and may be mentioned here, though they scarcely fall within the category of game birds. The former are generally found on tanks. The latter are common everywhere and are known as *turjua* among the Santāls. They are greatly sought after on account of their flesh, which the

Santāls consider delicious. The common crane and demoiselle crane are occasionally to be seen in the cold weather along the Ganges, but are rare.

Among the ducks, all the usual cold weather visitors frequent, in large numbers, the *bils* near the Ganges in the Rājmahāl sub-division and the reservoirs and rivers of North Goddā. The following species are common :—the gadwall, pintail, shoveller, tufted duck, ferruginous duck, red-crested pochard, gargany, common teal and ruddy sheldrake. Of the resident ducks the whistling and cotton teal are common ; the nukhta or combduck probably breeds in the Rājmahāl *bils*. Large flocks of geese visit the north of the district from the Ganges, after the rice crop has been harvested, to feed on the stubble. The bar-headed is the species most commonly observed.

Fish. In the Ganges the most common fish are *hilsā*, *rohu*, *kātlā*, *kālbaus*, *mirig*, *boāl* and *shol*. The same species are also found during periods of flood in the other rivers, *viz.*, the Mor, Bānsloi, Gumāni, and Ajai.

Reptiles. Crocodiles are found in the Ganges, and are reported also to travel up the Ajai river in the Jāmtārā subdivision, but do not appear to come up the smaller rivers. In one stream only, *viz.*, the Tripati near Gopikandar, have they been seen. Snakes are common, including the cobra, *karait* (*Bungarus cæruleus*), *chiti* or spotted snake, and others, which are frequently found in the thatching of old houses. One of the bungalows at Goddā was, indeed, formerly known as "Snakes' Castle" from the number of snakes found in it.*

CLIMATE. Owing to its position on the borders of Bengal, Bihār and the tableland of Chotā Nāgpur, the Santāl Parganas partake in some measure of the climatic characteristics of each of those three areas. Thus, the alluvial strip of country on the east has the damp heat and moist soil characteristic of Bengal ; while the undulating and hilly portions, from Deoghar on one side to Rājmahāl on the other, are swept by the hot westerly winds of Bihār, and resemble in their rapid drainage and dry sub-soil the lower plateaux of Chotā Nāgpur. In this undulating country the winter months are very cool and the rains not oppressive ; but the heat from the end of March to the middle of June is severe, and the hot westerly winds are extremely disagreeable. On the subject of the hot winds, the following remarks of Captain Sherwill are of interest :—"A spectator standing at midday during the hot weather in any of the *parganas* that lie to the

* E. G. Man, Sonthalia and the Sonthals, 1867.

eastward of the Rājmahāl Hills, may distinctly observe the termination of the hot winds and the commencement of the humid atmosphere of Bengal. The hot wind is seen on a level with the highest peaks of the Rājmahāl Hills, which rise to 2,000 feet, and up whose western flank it has been driven from the plains of Monghyr and Bhāgalpur. It is represented by a huge yellowish-brown stratum of heated air, highly charged with minute particles of dust, and peculiarly electric. This bank or stratum extending to near the base of the Himālaya mountains, never descends again, but, lifted up and there retained by the damp atmosphere of Bengal, is lost or cooled in the upper regions of the air. The mark of separation between the heated, electric, and dust-charged atmosphere of Western and Central India and the damp air of Bengal is so defined and so nearly stationary during the day, that its height, limits and rate of progression are all capable of measurement."

Temperature. On the whole, the range of temperature is not very high, except during the hot weather months of March, April and May, when the westerly winds coming from Central India cause high temperature with very low humidity: the thermometer has been known to approach 120° in the shade. At Dumkā, the headquarters station, the mean temperature falls in the cold weather months to 64° and the mean minimum temperature to 51°. In these months the temperature sometimes falls below freezing point, and water exposed at night will be found with a thin crust of ice in the morning. Mean temperature increases from 79° in March to 88° in April and May; mean maximum temperature from 91° in March to 100° in April and 98° in May; and mean minimum temperature from 66° in March to 79° in June. At this season of the year humidity falls to 49 per cent. of saturation in March and 52 per cent. in April. The usual marked change takes place with the commencement of south-west monsoon conditions in the second half of June, and there is a quick fall, chiefly in day temperatures; for the mean maximum falls from 98° in May to 95° in June, and 89° in July, whereas there is no fall of the mean minimum until July and then it is only 1°, *viz.*, from 79° to 78°.

Rainfall. Rainfall, which does not exceed an inch between November and April, increases to 3·6 inches in May, owing to the influence of occasional cyclonic storms in that month. In June the rainfall is 10 inches, and in July the heaviest fall of about 14 inches occurs. August and September are also rainy months, with a fall of 13·4 and 10 inches respectively, but in October the weather is generally fine with brief periods of cloud and rain, when cyclonic

disturbances affect the west of the province. Statistics of the rainfall at the different recording stations are given below for the cold weather (November to February), the hot weather (March to May), and the rainy season (June to October), the figures shown being the averages recorded in each case. It is to be observed, however, that there are considerable variations from year to year above and below those averages, *e.g.*, in 1895 the average fall for the whole district was 39·28 inches, and in 1893 it was 71·30 inches.

STATION.	Years recorded.	November to February.	March to May.	June to October.	Annual average
ASANBANI ...	6—7	1·13	3·34	51·20	55·67
BARHARWA ...	6—7	1·47	4·26	51·05	56·78
BARKOP ...	5—7	1·69	2·26	47 99	51·94
BHAGYA ...	6—7	1·39	3·53	42·78	47·70
DEOGHAR ...	31	1·59	4·49	47·07	53·15
GODDA ...	28—29	1·54	4·43	42·71	48·68
JAMTARA ...	25—27	1·67	4·84	47·33	53·84
KATIKUND ...	7	1·90	3·27	58·40	63·57
MADHUPUR ...	6—7	1·44	3·42	46·98	51·84
MAHESHPUR ...	7	1·29	3·83	49·61	54·73
NAYA DUMKA ...	30	1·76	5·42	51·43	58·61
NUNIHAT ...	14—16	1·39	3·07	38·03	42·49
PAKAUR ...	24—25	1·43	6·06	52·90	60·39
RAJMAHAL ...	29—30	0·94	5·76	46·64	53·34
SAHIBGANJ ...	6—7	1·38	4·06	54·11	59·55
SARATH ...	5—7	1·37	3·68	47·09	52·14
SARWAN ...	6—7	1·70	2·26	47·03	50·99
Average ...	...	1·48	4·00	48·37	53·85

The following table gives meteorological statistics for Dumkā, which is 497 feet above sea-level.

MONTH.	Monthly mean 8 A.M. temperature.	Monthly mean maximum temperature.	Monthly mean minimum temperature.	Monthly mean temperature of day.*	Monthly mean 8 A.M. humidity.	Monthly average rainfall.	Monthly mean wind direction at 8 A.M.	Monthly average wind velocity in miles per hour.
	°	°	°	°	Percent	Inches.		
January ...	56·8	75·7	51·2	62·3	72·9	0·59	N 43° W	1·7
February ...	62·8	79·7	54·2	65·8	64·7	0·70	N 51° W	1·9
March ...	74·3	91·4	65·6	77·8	48·9	0·81	N 73° W	2·4
April ...	84·0	100·1	74·6	85·9	51·8	1·02	S 13° E	3·9
May ...	84·8	98·4	77·2	86·2	66·2	3·59	S 51° E	5·0
June ...	83·2	94·0	78·7	84·7	78·8	9·96	S 42° E	4·9
July ...	81·7	88·6	77·6	81·9	86·3	14·14	S 34° E	3·9
August ...	81·2	87·7	77·1	81·0	87·1	13·41	S 50° E	3·4
September ...	81·4	88·2	76·3	81·1	84·4	10·01	S 31° E	3·7
October ...	77·8	87·4	70·6	78·0	76·3	3·91	N 10° W	1·7
November ...	68·3	81·4	59·5	69·7	73·7	0·31	N 23° W	1·3
December ...	61·8	75·7	51·3	62·7	73·7	0·16	N 41° W	1·4
Year ...	74·8	87·4	67·8	76·4	72·1	58·61	......	2·9

* Means of maxima and minima temperatures corrected to true diurnal means by applying the corrections determined from the six-hourly data of Berhampore.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

A number of stone implements have been found in the Santāl Parganas, most of which are obviously weapons or tools, such as axes, hammers, arrow-heads or agricultural implements. The most interesting are some so-called "shoulder-headed celts" similar to those found in the Malay Peninsula and Chotā Nāgpur. They are of special interest, because several writers have regarded the fact that such celts have only been found in the countries mentioned as proof that the races now settled there, viz., the Mons and Mundās, belong to the same stock, thereby implying that the shoulder-headed celts were originally manufactured and used by them. On this point the Revd. P. O. Bodding, of Mohulpahāri in this district, who brought to light the existence of such celts in the Santāl Parganas, writes as follows:—"So far as our present knowledge goes, we cannot say more than this: the fact of these peculiarly formed celts being found in Chotā Nāgpur and the Santāl Parganas in India, and in the delta and valley of the lower Irrawaddy—so says Sir A. Phayre in a letter printed in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, 1876—and nowhere else, makes it so likely as to be almost a certainty that in a former age the same peoples have either been living in the countries mentioned (and those between), or there has been some kind of communication or intercourse between the countries by migration or otherwise. If these shoulder-headed celts should be found, *e.g.*, in the Assam Valley and Burma, they would point out where these people were living, or the line of communication. The original owners may, of course, for all we know, have been the Mon-Khmer and Mundā peoples; but they may also just as well have been others."*

THE STONE AGE.

The earliest inhabitants of whom there is any record appear to be the Maler (Sauriā Pahārias), who are found to this day in the north of the Rājmahāl Hills. They have been identified with the Malli mentioned by Megasthenes, who visited the court

EARLY HISTORY.

* Further details will be found in two articles, *Stone Implements in the Sonthal Parganas,* by the Revd. P. O. Bodding published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III (1901 and 1904).

of Chandra Gupta at Pātaliputra (Patna) in 302 B. C. According to his account, the Malli were a race holding the country between the Prasii, *i.e.*, the people of Magadha or Bihār, and the Gangaridae, *i.e.*, the people of Lower Bengal. Their territory was bounded by the Ganges and contained within its limits a mountain called Mallus, which is identified with the sacred hill of Mandar in the south of the Bhāgalpur district, close to the boundary of the Goddā sub-division. The Sauriā Pahārias are also believed by some to be the race referred to by the Greek geographers* as the Suari, but the latter are generally held to be the Savars of Orissa.

We have no detailed account of this part of the country until the time of Hiuen Tsiang, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited India about 645 A. D. From the record of his travels, we learn that he visited the kingdom of Champā, the northern boundary of which extended along the Ganges from Lakhisarai to Rājmahāl, while the southern boundary passed through "desert wilds, in which were wild elephants and savage beasts that roamed in herds." To the east of Champā lay the kingdom of Kie-chu-u-khi-lo or Kie-ching-kie-lo, which, according to General Cunningham, was the tract of country included in the present Santāl Parganas. "The distance and bearing," he writes, "bring us to the district of Rājmahāl, which was originally called Kānkjol after a town of that name, which still exists 18 miles to the south of Rājmahāl. . . When independent, the petty state of Kānkjol most probably comprised the whole of the hill country to the south and west of Rājmahāl, with the plains lying between the hills and the Bhāgīrathī river as far south as Murshidābād."

Hiuen Tsiang does not give any account of the interior of this kingdom, merely stating that, having been conquered by a neighbouring state, the towns were desolate and most of the people were scattered in villages or hamlets. He adds, however, that on the northern boundary, not far from the Ganges, was a lofty tower made of bricks and stone, which General Cunningham identifies with Teliāgarhī. "The pilgrim," he writes, "does not say what was the nature of the tower; but from his description I gather that it must have been a Buddhist building, as its four faces were ornamented with panels filled with figures of saints, Buddhas and Devas. From the mixture of brick and stone in the building, and its position on the northern frontier of the district and on the south bank of the Ganges, I am led to think that this tower was most probably situated at Teliāgarhī itself. The place was

* A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 508, 509; W. B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwān District* (1894), p. 6.

certainly an old military post, as it completely commanded one of the three passes leading into Bengal. But it must have also been a place of consequence, as it possessed a considerable number of large statues, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Most of these were removed to a great house at Kahalgāon (Colgong) built on the top of the hill facing the rocks, but, since the establishment of the railway close by, many of them have disappeared, no one knows where."*

After this, there is no record of the history of the district for many centuries, but there is an interesting reference to it in the *Bramanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purāna*, which was probably compiled in the 15th or 16th century A. D. from ancient materials. It refers to the tract comprising the present district and Bīrbhūm as Narikhanda, and describes it as follows:—"Narikhanda is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of the Bhāgīrathī and north of the Dwārikeswarī river. It extends along the Panchakuta hills on its west, and approaches Kikata on the north. The forests are very extensive, chiefly of *sakhota*, *arjuna*, and *sāl* trees with a plentiful addition of brushwood. The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanāth. The deity is worshipped by people from all quarters, and is the source of every good in the present age. Three-fourths of the district are jungle; the remaining fourth is cultivated. The soil of a small part of it is very fertile, but by far the greater portion is saline and unproductive. There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest: the principal of these is the Ajaya. In many places there are iron mines. The people are, in general, small, black and of immoral propensities, and ignorant of religious duties; a few only are attached to the name of Vishnu. They are dexterous bowmen and industrious cultivators."†

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

The authentic history of the district may be said to begin with the rule of the Muhammadans, when their armies marched to and from Bengal through the Teliāgarhī pass. The Muhammadan historians show that this pass, the "Key of Bengal" as it was called, was the scene of numerous battles. In 1538 A.D. Sher Shāh fortified it during the rebellion against the Emperor Humāyūn, but the entrenchments were forced by the Emperor's army.‡ On the 12th July 1576 the decisive battle of Rājmahāl

* A. Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 478-9; Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., XV, 37-39; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II.

† J. Burgess, *Geography of India*, Ind. Ant., 1891, Vol. XX, p. 420.

‡ C. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (1847), pp. 77-8.

was fought in its neighbourhood. Three years before this Dāūd Khān had proclaimed himself King of Bengal and, relying on his Afghān troops, defied the Emperor Akbar. Akbar placed himself at the head of the imperial forces, and the loss of Hājīpur forced Dāūd Khān to abandon Patna and fly to Tandah. On the way he stopped at Teliāgarhī and found the fortifications so strong, that he told the garrison he expected them to hold the Mughal army at bay for a year. His hopes were vain, for the Afghān troops fled and the Mughal general, Munim Khān, took possession of the pass without the loss of a man. Shortly afterwards Dāūd Khān, after some more crushing defeats, submitted and swore allegiance to Akbar. In 1575, however, Munim Khān having died, with a large portion of his army, in an epidemic which broke out at Gaur, Dāūd Khān seized the opportunity to head another rising of the Afghāns. He soon found himself in command of an army of 50,000 men, and drove the Mughal forces back to Patna. Reinforcements were hurried up under Husain Kulī Khān, the Governor of the Punjab, whom the Emperor sent to Bengal as his Viceroy in order to quell the rebellion, with the famous Rājā Todar Mal second in command. Dāūd Khān took up a strong position at Rājmahāl behind the entrenchments of Teliāgarhī, which were garrisoned by 3,000 Afghāns. There he held the Mughal forces at bay for several months, but at last was compelled to give battle. Dāūd Khān led the centre of his army, while Kālāpāhār, the well-known conqueror of Orissa, commanded the right wing. Kālāpāhār having been killed, the Afghāns gave way, and Husain Kulī Khān then charged on the centre of the enemy's line, which was soon broken. Dāūd Khān himself was captured, promptly condemned as a rebel, and beheaded, his head being sent by express messenger to the Emperor at Agra as a tangible proof of the victory. This Mughal victory was of signal importance, for it ended the Afghān supremacy in Bengal and the rule of the independent Muhammadan kings; and after it the Province became a subordinate *sūbah* of the Mughal empire.

The next important event in the history of the district was the establishment of Rājmahāl as the capital of Bengal in 1592. Sher Shāh had selected it as the seat of government about half a century before, but it was left to Mān Singh, Akbar's Viceroy in Bengal, to carry out this measure. From 1202 till 1576 Gaur had been the capital of the Province, except for some 60 years when it was transferred to Pandua, and more recently when Tandah had taken its place; but the Ganges had receded westward until Tandah stood a league from it, and Gaur, deserted by

the river, had become more and more unhealthy, the population being decimated by the epidemic of 1575, after which it was abandoned. It was in these circumstances that Mān Singh decided to remove the capital to Rājmahāl, where he built himself a palace and also erected a strong rampart, strengthened with bastions, which encircled the city. He is also said to have changed its name from Agmahāl to Rājmahāl, the seat of empire; subsequently, as the city grew, the Muhammadans, in compliment to the Emperor, called it Akbarnagar. It did not long continue to be the capital, for in 1608 the Nawāb, Islām Khān, made his head-quarters at Dacca, that being a more central position for the defence of Bengal against the raids of Magh (Arakanese) pirates and Portuguese buccaneers.*

Shortly after the transfer of the head-quarters, Teliāgarhī was the scene of a sanguinary battle between Prince Shāh Jahān and Ibrahim Khān, Viceroy of Bengal, brother of the Empress Nur Jahān and uncle of Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jāhan had risen in rebellion against his father Jahāngīr and invaded Bengal. Ibrahim Khān marched from Dacca to Rājmahāl with all the forces he could collect in order to cut off his retreat, upon which Shāh Jahān hurried back from Burdwān. Ibrahim Khān, realizing that with his small forces he was incapable of holding the city against a siege, retired to the fortifications of Teliāgarhī, on which were mounted a number of cannons, served, we are told, by "vagabond Europeans of different nations whom he had encouraged to enter his service." The defences, however, were mined and blown up, and Shāh Jahān's soldiers pouring through the breach put the garrison to the sword. The main battle also went against Ibrahim Khān, who rushed into the thick of the enemy crying— "My life is at the service of the Emperor. I will conquer or die." He fell covered with wounds, and his army, left without a leader, fled from the field leaving their camp to be plundered by the enemy.† This battle decided the fate of Bengal for the time being, Shāh Jahān being left undisputed master of the Province. His rule was short lived, for in 1624 he was decisively defeated by the imperial forces near Allahābād. He fell back on Rājmahāl, and, after taking from it 'the

*Stewart's History of Bengal (1847), pp. 118, 131.

†The account given in Stewart's History of Bengal has been followed. According to another account, Ibrahim Khān entrenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, which was in the fort and had a small rampart, and was killed close to its walls fighting heroically. His son had died in his youth and had been buried at Rājmahāl close to the Ganges. See *Riyāzu-s-Salātin*, pp. 189-192.

household paraphernalia' which he had left there, retreated, hotly pursued, to the Deccan.

In 1639 Rājmahāl was again made the seat of government by Shāh Shujā, the second son of Shāh Jahān, on his appointment as Viceroy of Bengal. He built a splendid palace, strengthened the fortifications erected by Mān Singh, and spent large sums of money in making the town worthy of its position as the capital of Bengal. According to Stewart, "the following year, nearly the whole of the city and the principal part of the palace were destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, in which many lives were lost and the family of the prince with difficulty escaped. About the same time, the current of the Ganges changed its bed and poured its torrents against the walls of the new capital washing away many of the stately edifices. Previous to that time, the course of the Ganges was along the northern bank, running under the walls of Gaur, but since that period, it pours its torrents against the rocks of Rājmahāl forming eddies and whirlpools, dangerous to the incautious or impatient traveller." In spite of this, Rājmahāl appears to have continued to be the capital till 1660.

The year before, Shāh Shujā, in order to make good his claims to the throne of Delhi, which had been seized by his brother Aurangzeb, marched north with a large army, but being defeated at Kadbā, fell back on Monghyr, where he threw up entrenchments. The imperial army under Aurangzeb's son Prince Muhammad and Mīr Jumlā soon forced him to quit this position. Rājā Bihruz of Kharagpur, in spite of his professed loyalty, intrigued with Mīr Jumlā and showed him a practicable route through the hills, along which Mīr Jumlā pushed forward a large force. Shāh Shujā, finding that he was being outflanked, abandoned Monghyr and retreated to Rājmahāl, where he fortified Teliāgarhī and Sakrigāli. The imperial army followed hard after him, and, having stormed the defences at Teliāgarhī and Sakrigāli, invested Rājmahāl on one side, while Mīr Jumlā, coming through the hill passes, besieged it on the south. For six days Shāh Shujā held out, but by that time the enemy's artillery had effectually breached the fortifications, which, Bernier tells us, consisted only of 'made earth, sand, and fascines.' Shāh Shujā, realizing that the place was untenable and that the approach of the rains was likely to widen the breaches and render his retreat difficult, fled to Tandah with his family. That very night the rains broke, and Mīr Jumlā, finding pursuit impossible, was compelled to canton his army for four months at Rājmahāl. He was not left unmolested, for the troops of Shāh Shuja

frequently crossed the Ganges, fired into his camp, and kept his solders in a constant state of alarm. He therefore abandoned the city and encamped his army at some distance from the river side. The difficulties of Mīr Jumlā were soon increased by the conduct of Prince Muhammad. The latter, it is said, having received a pathetic letter from the daughter of Shāh Shujā, to whom he was betrothed, resolved to join her and throw in his lot with her father. He therefore secretly intrigued with Shāh Shujā, won over a large part of the army to his cause, and went over to Tandah, where he married the princess. Mīr Jumlā found the army bordering on mutiny and, deciding that only active employment would prevent an outbreak, crossed the Ganges and advancing against Shāh Shujā, decisively defeated him (1660).

After this, Rājmahāl ceased to be the capital of Bengal, which was removed to Dacca. The reasons for this change will be apparent from the account left by Tavernier, who visited Rājmahāl in January 1666 with Bernier. "Rājmahāl is a city upon the right hand of Ganges: and if you go by land you shall find the highway for a league or two paved with brick to the town. Formerly the Governors of Bengal resided here, it being an excellent country for hunting, besides that it was a place of great trade. But now the river having taken another course, above a good half-league from the city, as well for that reason as to keep in awe the king of Arakan and several Portuguese banditti, who are retired to the mouths of Ganges, and made excursions even as far as Dacca itself, both the Governor and merchants have removed themselves to Dacca, which is at present a large city and a town of great trade." Rājmahāl, however, was a mint town in 1661, to which merchants sent golden plates to be coined; and it was the head-quarters of the *Faujdār* or Governor of Akbarnagar. We find also that in the time of Murshid Kulī Khān (1704-25) an officer was sent here every year during the winter to make ice in the Rājmahāl Hills to supply the Nawāb's table. "The Nawāb," says the *Riyāzu-s-Salātīn*, "had stores of ice for full twelve months, used ice daily, and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits of Bengal, the superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the *Chaklā* of Akbarnagar and he, counting the mangoes of the *khās* trees, entered them in the accounts, and showed their collection and disposal and the watchmen and carriers, and levying the expenses of carriage from the zamīndārs, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Mālda, Katwā, Husainpur, Akbarnagar, and other places. And the zamīndārs had no power to cut down the *khās* mango-trees: on the

contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid *Chaklā* were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nāzims of Bengal."

THE ENGLISH AT RAJMAHAL.

Rājmahāl was a place of some importance to the English in their early efforts to establish their trade in Bengal. When it was the capital of Shāh Shujā, they had an unofficial representative there in the person of Dr. Gabriel Boughton, who was a favourite of the Prince, having, it is said, cured a lady of his zanāna who was suffering from a complaint in her side. Whatever the truth of this story—and doubts have not apparently been thrown on it as on the legend that Boughton cured a daughter of the Emperor Shāh Jahān—it seems certain that Boughton had much influence with the Prince. That this was recognized by the English is clear from the following instructions given by the Captain of the *Lyoness* to the agents sent from Balasore in 1650 to open up trade in Bengal. "You know," he wrote, "how necessary it will be for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *pharmān*, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon to the Prince, promises concerning the same. To put matters out of doubt, it is necessary that you forthwith, after our departure and the settlement of the business here and at Hooghly, proceed to Rājmahāl with one Englishman to accompany you: where being come, consult with Mr. Boughton about the business, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches' last *pharmān*, and together endeavour (if possible) that, according to Mr. Boughton's promise, the Company may have such a *pharmān* granted as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedom, that so they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who, without doubt, will be very faithful in the business and strive that the same may be procured, with as little charge as may be to the Company, knowing that the less the charge is, the more will be the reputation, according to his own advice in his last unto me."* It appears that Boughton must have been faithful in the business, for an entry in the Court Book of 1674 shows that he obtained a *pharmān* from Shāh Shujā giving the English liberty to trade in Bengal.†

* C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 26-7. The spelling has been modernized.

† A detailed account of the part played by Boughton in securing for the Company liberty of trade in Bengal will be found in an article by Lt.-Col. Crawford, I.M.S., *The Legend of Gabriel Boughton*, published in the Indian Medical Gazette Jan. 1909. In an article on Rājmahāl in the Calcutta Review, vol. xxxvi, p. 124 it is stated that "the old graveyard to the north-west of the hotel contains the remains of Surgeon Boughton."

With the fall of Shāh Shujā the difficulties of the English began. Their boats were stopped at Rājmahāl by the new Governor Mīr Jumlā as they came down the Ganges laden with saltpetre, and when their Agent at Hooghly had the audacity to attempt reprisals by seizing one of the Governor's vessels, Mīr Jumlā threatened to expel them from the country. The threat was effectual, for the English apologized and restored the vessel. After this they appear to have been on good terms with the Governor; and by 1676 they had established a small agency at Rājmahāl, in connection with the Mughal mint, to which they sent their treasure to be coined into rupees. This agency was in 1681 placed in charge of Robert Hedges, who was subsequently the Company's President of Council.*

In 1696 the rebellion of Subha Singh broke out. The rebel chief was joined by the Afghāns of Orissa under Rahīm Khān, and the whole country west of the Ganges from Rājmahāl to Midnapore was overrun by them, Rājmahāl being captured and the property of the English seized. At length, in April 1697, the levies of the Nawāb Ibrahim Khān were gathered together, and placed under the command of his son Zabardast Khān, who retook the town, but refused to restore their goods to the English, who appealed to Azīm-us-Shān, grandson of the Emperor, who had been appointed Nawāb in the place of Ibrahim Khān. Further trouble followed a few years later, for Aurangzeb issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of all Europeans in India, and in 1702 all the servants of the Company at Rājmahāl were seized with their effects.

On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Azīm-us-Shān marched with 20,000 horse to support his father Shāh Alam in the struggle for the throne, leaving his son Farrukhsiyar, some of the women of his seraglio, and his treasure at Rājmahāl.† Shāh Alam having ascended the throne under the title of Bahādur Shāh, Azīm-us-Shān returned to Rājmahāl, where in April 1708 the English sent an envoy with an offer of Rs. 15,000 (besides two looking glasses for the Prince and another for the Dīwān, Murshid Kulī Khān), in return for authority to trade free of duties. A month later the Council found to their disgust that their agent Siva Charan had without their authority given to the Prince an order on them for Rs. 36,000. After a long consultation, they decided on sending Fazl Muhammad, one of their most trustworthy

* Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 180-1; Early Annals of the English in Bengal, I, 34, 53, 376; II xxxix.

† Sair-ul-Mutākharin, I, 40, 41.

native servants, to Rājmahāl with orders to send Siva Charan under a guard to Calcutta to answer for his conduct. On the 22nd October Fazl Muhammad returned from Rājmahāl, bringing still more unpalatable news. The Prince and the Treasurer, he said, in spite of their promise to give a new order for freedom of trade for Rs. 36,000, now absolutely refused to do so unless Rs. 50,000 were given as a present to themselves and Rs. 1,00,000 were paid into the Emperor's treasury at Surat. The Council retaliated by threatening to stop all the Mughal shipping in the Hooghly and order all British subjects to withdraw from Bengal. The threat was not carried out, and we find that Mr. Cawthorpe, the English agent at Rājmahāl, was seized by Azīm-us-Shān, who refused to release him or let the Company's boats pass, till he had received a bill of exchange for Rs. 14,000. The Council then repeated their threat to stop the Mughal shipping and concentrate all their servants at Calcutta—a measure which was expected to paralyze the trade of Hooghly and Rājmahāl as "nearly all the best Captains in the employ of the Dīwān of the Prince were Englishmen."*

Next year (1709) the Prince and the Dīwān Murshid Kulī Khān left Bengal for the imperial court, and Sher Buland Khān was sent to rule the Province in their stead. He at once proceeded to stop the boats at Rājmahāl, and it was not until the English paid Rs. 45,000 that they obtained an order granting them the privilege of free trade in Bengal. In 1710 Prince Farrukhsiyar came to Rājmahāl as the representative of his father Azīm-us-Shān, and the English at once sent an agent to conciliate him, receiving in return a dress of honour for the President. The following year Khān Jahān Bahādur Izzud-daula, who had been appointed Deputy Governor, arrived at Rājmahāl, where he seems to have done his best to ingratiate himself with the English by allowing their saltpetre boats to pass unmolested down the river and by granting them an order for free trade. Great confusion followed the death of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh in 1712. Izzud-daula fortified himself at Rājmahāl, as well as he could, guarding the neighbouring passes and intercepting all communications. He does not appear, however, to have offered any resistance to Farrukhsiyar, after he had himself proclaimed as Emperor at Patna, for the new Emperor advanced through the Teliāgarhī pass on his way to Murshidābād without striking a blow.†

* *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 148-50, 161, 170, 180, 181, 198, 303.

† *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 329, 342; Vol. II, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxviii.

Rājmahāl did not come into prominence during the last days of Muhammadan rule. It was taken in 1742 by the Marāthās, who, we are told, "held the town and district of Rājmahāl, and left nothing to Alī Vardi Khān but the city of Murshidābād and the country on the other side of the Ganges."* Apparently they found a ready passage through the central valley of the hills and year after year swept down the Margo pass to the lowlands of Bengal. Subsequently in 1757 Sirāj-ud-daula was captured here by Mīr Dāūd, the brother of Mīr Jāfar Alī Khan, who was then *Faujdār* or Governor of Rājmahāl. Sirāj-ud-daula, flying northwards after the battle of Plassey, went ashore near the town, being weary with confinement in the boats. In spite of his disguise, he was recognized by a man named Dānā Shāh, who had some time before offended Sirāj-ud-daula and had been punished by having his ears and nose cut off. "Thus mutilated and disgraced, he was living as a *fakir* at the very spot where Sirāj-ud-daula's evil genius led him to land. Escaping quietly from the spot, Dānā Shāh gave information to Mīr Dāūd, who promptly sent a guard to seize and conduct him to Murshidābād. Other officers laid hands on what property they could, and Mīr Kāsim, son-in-law and later on supplanter of Mīr Jāfar, took Lutfunnissa and her casket of jewels supposed to be worth many lakhs of rupees." A few hours later the advance guard of Law's detachment reached Rājmahāl too late to save Sirāj-ud-daula, for he was hurried off to Murshidābād, where he was murdered by Mīrān, the son of Mīr Jāfar Alī Khān.† Mīrān himself was buried at Rājmāhal, having been killed by lightning in the Champāran district when on a campaign against the Nawāb of Purnea in 1760. According to the *Sair-ul-Mutākharin*, "his body was put in a coffin and carried rapidly to the Ganges, where it was put into a boat, and hurried down the river as far as Rājmahāl; but the abominable stench that exhaled from it obliged the messengers to land it immediately, and it was buried in a spot which now goes by the name of his monument." Three years later, in 1763, Udhuā Nullah, six miles to the south, was the scene of Major Adams' victory over Mīr Kāsim Alī, a description of which will be found in the article on that place in Chapter XVI.

BRITISH RULE.

Pacification of the Pahārias.

The early history of British administration is mainly a record of their attempts to pacify the Pahārias of the Rājmahāl hills, called in the early correspondence the 'highlanders,' 'hillmen' or 'hill race.' The northern section use the designation Male and are

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* Sair-ul-Mutākharin, I, 395; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 284.

† C. R. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, clxxviii, ccvi, ccvii; III, 210, 212, 213.

commonly referred as the Maler (the plural of Male), a term which will be used in this account to distinguish them from the other branch of the race, the Māl Pahārias of the hilly and wooded country to the south and west. This race of aboriginals, abhorring regular labour, eked out their meagre crops by the chase, and found a still more congenial occupation as robbers and cattle-lifters. The Mughal Government, seeing little prospect of obtaining revenue from their barren hills, had been content to leave the control of them to *mansabdārs*, of whom the chief were members of the Khetauri family of Manihāri. The founder of the family is said to have seized the fort of Lakrāgarh and helped Akbar's general Mān Singh to force the defiles through the hills, when he was invading Bengal. He was rewarded by the grant, as a *mansab jāgir*, of the tract in which the Maler lived, and his descendants were overlords of the country from Rājmahāl and Pākaur on the east of the hills to Colgong and Goddā on their western face. Whether the control they exercised was effective or, as is more probable, was merely nominal, they appear to have been on good terms with the Maler till the middle of the 18th century when the Maler got completely out of hand.

Some of their chiefs having been treacherously murdered, the Maler stormed Lakrāgarh, drove out the Khetauri *jāgīrdārs*, and commenced a series of raids on the lowland villages, which went unpunished during the political unrest at that time. A climax was reached during the famine of 1770, which pressed with peculiar severity upon the alluvial strip of country lying between the Rājmahāl Hills and the Ganges. The outposts at the foot of the hills, which were manned by *ghātwāls*, were abandoned, and the plains thus lay at the mercy of the Pahārias who, owing to their practice of living upon jungle foods, had escaped the extremity of distress. It was, therefore, in the years following the famine of 1770 that the raids of the hillmen upon the low country became most frequent and most systematic. Plunder, no doubt, was their main object, but many of their inroads were in the first instance instigated by the landholders, who were in the habit of offering the Pahārias a free passage through their own lands, on condition that they ravaged those of the neighbouring zamīndārs. The terror they occasioned was so widespread, that the alluvial country was deserted by its cultivators. No boat dare moor after dusk on the southern bank of the Ganges; and even the Government mail-runners, who in those days passed along the skirts of the hills, by way of Rājmahāl and the Teliāgarhī pass, were frequently robbed and murdered at the foot of the hills. The evil reputation the Pahārias won by such raids may be gathered from the

remarks of Bishop Heber in 1824:—"A deadly feud existed for the last 40 years between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands, they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays, and the Muhammadan zamīndārs killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they got them within gunshot"

While the Maler to the north were committing these outrages without restraint, the Māl Pahārias to the south were engaged in similar depredations, which reduced the people along the border to a state of terror. In these outrages they were supported by the *ghātwāls*, such as the Bhuiyā *ghātwāl* of Lakshmīpur, and by the zamīndārs, such as the proprietor of Sultānābād. "The hill people," wrote Cleveland in 1783, "are generally employed for plundering by the *ghātwāls* and zamīndāri officers. It has been almost a general custom with the low country inhabitants of Sultānābād, Rājshāhi and Bīrbhūm to employ the hill people in plundering each other's villages. And almost every man has been so deeply concerned, that even the sufferers have been afraid to complain lest their iniquitous practices should be brought to light." These Māl Pahārias are presumably the hillmen alluded to as follows by the Judge of the Benares Division in 1808—"At an early period of British administration that tract of country lying between Bīrbhūm and Bhāgalpur was in a state of extreme disorder. The inhabitants were in open arms against Government and its other subjects. A perpetual savage warfare was maintained by them against the inhabitants of the plains, and they were proscribed and hunted down like wild beasts; so that I have been informed by a gentleman who was at the time Collector of Bīrbhūm, their heads were brought to him by basket loads*."

Captain Brooke.

The necessity of bringing to book these freebooters forced itself on the attention of Warren Hastings. Acting on the suggestion of his military adviser, General Barker, he raised in 1772 a special corps about 800 strong, and placed it under the command of Captain Brooke, who was made Military Governor of the disturbed tract, *i.e.*, the north of this district and the south of Monghyr and Bhāgalpur—the Jungleterry (Jungle Tarai) as it was called. His orders were to subdue the hill robbers and rebellious zamīndārs, and having subdued them and re-established order, to induce them to become cultivators instead of marauders and conform to the settled ways of peace. During the two years he spent in the hills, Captain Brooke did much to carry out the policy laid down by Warren Hastings. In 1773 he

* Fifth Report (Madras Reprint, 1883), p. 767.

stormed the fort of Tiur, which held out till cannon were brought against it; and a number of successful expeditions in different parts of the hills helped, if not to break up, at least to disperse the bands of marauders and make the Pahārias feel his power. At the same time, Brooke won the confidence of his enemies by his treatment of the prisoners he took and of their women and children, and induced them to come down and settle in the cultivable land below the hills. In 1774 he reported that he had founded no less than 283 villages between Udhuā and Barkop, and in December of that year Warren Hastings proudly announced in a Despatch to the Court of Directors—"By the battalion employed in the Jungleterry, a tract of country which was considered as inaccessible and unknown, and only served as a receptacle for robbers, has been reduced to government, the inhabitants civilized, and not only the reduction of the revenues, which was occasioned by their ravages, prevented, but some revenue yielded from this country itself, which a prosecution of the same measures will improve." Short as his tenure of office was, Captain Brooke may justly be described as the pioneer of civilization in the Rājmahāl Hills.

Captain Browne. His work was carried on by Captain James Browne, who in 1774 took over charge of the hill corps and till 1778 was in charge of the Jungle Tarai. During these years Captain Browne was busy in suppressing a rebellion of the Bhuiyās, who ravaged the surrounding country under Jagannāth Deo of Lakshmīpur, in repressing the Pahārias and in bringing Ambar and Sultānābād to submission. His chief claim to fame, however, was the preparation of a scheme for the pacification and future administration of the Pahārias, which was afterwards elaborated and carried into effect by Cleveland. The main feature of his scheme was the recognition of their tribal system. The hills were at this time divided into different divisions called *parganas* or *tappas*, each under a chief called a *sardār*, who sometimes had one or more assistants called *naibs*. The people themselves were settled in villages, each of which claimed a separate hill or range of hills and was presided over by a village chief, or headman, called *mānjhi*. Browne proposed that this system of chiefs should be recognized and that their services should be enlisted for the preservation of peace and order. All transactions with the hill people were to be carried on through the *sardārs* and *mānjhis*, and intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains was to be encouraged by establishing markets on the outskirts of the hills. Those *sardārs* whose *tappas* adjoined the public road were to be given stipends to prevent their making raids; and the old *chaukibandi* or

chain of outposts,* which had been abandoned in 1770, was to be re-established and maintained by Government until the service lands attached to them had been brought under cultivation. The control of these outposts was to be made over to *thānādārs* or police officers appointed by Government, who were again to be subordinate to *sazāwals* or divisional superintendents. The police force was further to be strengthened by conferring grants of lands below the hills on invalid sepoys, on condition that they settled on their allotments and gave assistance in the event of a Pahāria inroad. This scheme was sanctioned by Government in 1778, but next year, before he could carry it out, Captain Browne was directed to make over charge to Mr. Augustus Cleveland, who had been stationed at Rājmahāl in 1773 as Assistant to the Collector, had been transferred to Bhāgalpur in 1776, and was now appointed Collector.

Augustus Cleveland.

The correspondence between Cleveland and Warren Hastings shows that soon after his appointment he had sketched out the lines of his policy for the treatment of the Pahārias. He appears to have been impressed by their simplicity and truthfulness, and accepted their claim that they had always been independent, having been only connected with the lowland Rājās as subordinate allies. This belief in their good qualities and in their former independence inspired Cleveland to formulate a benevolent policy, to carry out which he applied for undivided authority over them. In his first letter to Warren Hastings, written in November 1779, he urged the necessity of the hills being under one authority and administered on one system. "Unless," he wrote, "the whole range of hills are put under one authority, and the same system of governing them adopted throughout, all the pains I am taking to put them in my own district on a proper footing (particularly those to the southward of the eastern and western ranges, the one joining with Ambar and the other running close upon the back of Sultānābād) will be in vain, as I am myself thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the hills may in a short time be induced to submit. As a proof of which, within these nine months I have had the most flattering experience of the good effects to be expected from the system I have adopted, no less than forty-seven hill chiefs and all their adherents having voluntarily submitted to me and taken an oath of allegiance to Government during that time; and I make no doubt, if the same system continues to be adopted, there is not a chief in that

* The zamīndārs at the foot of the hills had been granted *jāgīr* or service lands in consideration of maintaining these outposts to guard the passes. They are said to have been so close, that the firing of a musket at one gave the alarm to the next.

vast extent of country who will not gladly renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life for the ease and comforts he will enjoy in being obedient to, and under the protection of, a mild and regular government. They have never yet been fairly put to the test how far their dispositions may incline them to be upon good terms with us. We have till lately considered them as enemies, and they have been treated accordingly. It is but consonant with our own principles of justice and humanity to use every means in our power to avoid a state of warfare; why should they be denied to this unfortunate people? I must do those who have submitted the justice to say—and I call all the inhabitants of this country in general to witness—that the hill people have not for many years been so quiet as they have been for these last eight or nine months, except, as I before mentioned, near the boundary of Ambar."

Subsequently in a letter from Sakrigali, dated 21st November 1780, Cleveland proposed a comprehensive plan which throws such light on the state of the country and on his principles, that it may be quoted at length. "These people, in general, are now become so sensible of the advantages to be derived from a firm attachment and submission to Government that many of them have not scrupled to declare they would for ever renounce all unlawful practices of robbery, murders and devastations if Government would point out and secure to them the means of subsistence, the want of which has frequently obliged them to commit acts, they seem to have some idea, are not only improper but inhuman. This naturally led into a proposal which I have long had in meditation, and is grounded on the following principles. The inhabitants of the hills have in fact no property: a mere subsistence is all they seem to require, to obtain which the means appear as a secondary consideration. The first question that occurs, therefore, is whether it is for the interest of Government to supply the means of subsistence for a certain time, or to suffer the inhabitants of the hills to commit devastations on the country, as they have done for many years past. Certainly, the former. For although the losses which Government has experienced in its receipts of revenue on this account have, in fact, been trifling owing to the rigid observance of the engagements entered into with the zamīndārs and farmers, yet the sufferings of the low country inhabitants during the hill insurrections are not to be described. To make friends therefore with the hill chiefs is, with all due submission, an object worthy the attention of Government. In the memory of the oldest inhabitants they never expressed themselves so earnestly for an accommodation as at present.

"The disbursement and, of course, the circulation of money in the hills by Government appears to me the most likely bait to ensure the attachment of the chiefs, and at the same time nothing will be so conducive to the civilization of the inhabitants as to employ a number of them in our service. On these principles I have taken the liberty to make the following proposal which the hill people have cheerfully agreed to provide they meet with your approbation. (1) That each manjey or chief, estimated at about 400, shall furnish one or more men as they may be required to be incorporated into a corps of archers. (2) That a chief shall be appointed to every 50 men and shall be accountable for the good behaviour of their respective division in the corps. (3) That the corps for the present shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Boglipore and be employed in his district only. (4) That the enemies of Government are to be considered as enemies by the hill people, and that it shall be expressly and particularly the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and Gautwalls to terms or to expel them from their country, and treat them as enemies wherever they may be found. (5) That each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allowance of Rs. 5 per mensem, the common people Rs. 3; and effectually to secure the manjeys or chiefs of the several hills in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps shall receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 2, subject however to such restrictions as may thought necessary in case of misbehaviour. (6) That each man in the corps shall have two turbans, two cummerbunds, two shirts, two pairs of jungheas and a purple jacket annually."

Cleveland estimated the annual cost of this scheme at Rs. 29,440, which he admitted appeared to be "an enormous disbursement, where no apparent advantage to the Company's revenue was likely to be immediately derived from it." He added, however, that the scheme deserved consideration in view of the advantages likely to accrue to "a race of people hitherto little better than savages, who will in course of time become useful members to the community in the very heart of your dominions, and of the confidence which the inhabitants of the adjacent country would enjoy when they were no longer apprehensive of continued devastations and murders." Warren Hastings objected to the enrolment of the corps of archers on the ground of its heavy expense; but sanctioned another scheme which Mr. Cleveland proposed for granting allowances of Rs. 10 a month to all *sardārs* and of Rs. 5 a month to their *naibs* or deputies; *mānjhis* were to receive no allowances at all.

The chiefs of the northern hills gladly accepted the allowances, but they were refused by the chiefs in the hills to the south, on the ground that they were exposed to inroads from Ambar (Pākaur) and Sultānābād (Maheshpur). For these reasons, wrote Cleveland in September 1780, "the chiefs in question declined to accept the allowances, unless similar arrangements take place in Ambar and Sultānābād, and the chiefs and deputies there are bound by the same penalties to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts." The remedy he proposed was the transfer of these two *parganas* (then in Rājshāhi) to his jurisdiction, and this measure was carried out in 1781. The result was the extension of the hill system to the Māl Pahārias, of whom a portion only resided in the hills, the rest being found in the rolling country to the south and west, where they were the ryots of the zamīndārs in whose estates they had settled.

Next year (1782) the enrolment of the corps of archers was sanctioned, mainly in consequence of the approval of the scheme by General Sir Eyre Coote, before whom Cleveland had laid it when on his way up-country through Bhāgalpur. The strength of the corps was about 1,300, and the men were armed with bows and arrows, their commandant being one Jaurah, once a noted bandit, who, according to Cleveland, was the first inhabitant of the hills to enter the service of Government. Bishop Heber tells us that he was "the Rob Roy or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Roderic Dhu of the Rājmahāls, the most popular of all others among his own countrymen, and the most dreaded by the lowlanders. The choice was fully justified by the event, Jourah having remained through life a bold, active and faithful servant of the Company in different enterprises against outlaws, both in the Rāmghar hills and his own mountains." Within a year of its enlistment the corps had proved its worth, Cleveland reporting in February 1783:—"Since the establishment of the corps of hill archers, this is the third time I have had occasion to employ them against their brethren. And as they have always succeeded in the business they have been sent upon, I flatter myself the Honourable Board will not only be convinced of the utility and attachment of the corps, but that they will have full confidence in the general system which I have adopted for the management of this wild and extensive country." Shortly after this, sanction was given to a proposal of Cleveland that the corps should be drilled and armed like regular sepoys, and also (in 1782) to his suggestion that offences committed by the hill people should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and tried by a tribunal of chiefs presided over by himself.

Two years later Cleveland died at the early age of 29. The verdict of his contemporaries on his work will be found in the inscription on the monument erected to his memory at Bhāgalpur. It runs as follows:—To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late Collector of the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajamahall, who, without bloodshed or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajamahall, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilised life, and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds—the most permanent, as the most rational mode of dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January 1784, aged 29." The same high estimation of his work is expressed in more stilted language in a monody of over 150 lines composed by Lord Teignmouth, which will be found in the Asiatic Annual Register of 1799 (pp. 191-194).

In the short time Cleveland had ruled over the Pahārias, he had gained their confidence, and to this day they revere the memory of Chilimili Sāheb, as they call him. The secret of his success appears to have been his personal influence and his real sympathy with these primitive people. He went among them unarmed and almost unattended, made frequent shooting excursions in the hills, distributed presents among them, and gave feasts to hundreds of the hillmen at a time. He also established regular bazars in the villages at the foot of the hills, to which he encouraged them to bring down and sell their produce, such as game, wax, hides and honey. He gave them wheat and barley seed, and encouraged cultivation by the assurance that they should not be taxed, and that none but their own chiefs should have authority over them.

There can be little doubt that Cleveland's policy was effectual in pacifying the Pahārias and that its good effects continued for nearly 40 years after his death. This is clear from the remarks of Mr. Ward in 1827. "I have," he wrote, "seen a great deal of this country and have been in the habit of frequent intercourse with the inhabitants; the form of police as established in the hills appears to me to be well calculated for the country and not, as far as I am able to judge, capable of admitting of improvement. Crime and affrays are, I believe, of rare occurrence there, but when they are committed, the *sardārs* never fail to

deliver up the delinquent to take his trial before the proper authority. Under the present system the hill people are quiet and content. I ascribe this to that good policy which dictated making the *sardārs* the governors over this rude race and solely responsible for the preservation of peace and good order in their country. However rude the people may be considered, they are extremely tenacious of the rights which were conferred upon them by Mr. Cleveland; they are proud of the offices to which they were appointed by their great benefactor, especially that which appointed them judges in the trials of their countrymen; and exercise of these functions gives them, in the eyes of their countrymen, an importance which ensures on all occasions respect and obedience."

One feature of Cleveland's system still survives, the Pahāria *sardārs*, *naibs* and *mānjhis* being stipendiaries of Government. They are paid sums varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2 per month, in return for which all they have to attend the Magistrate's court periodically and report offences and vital statistics. "It is," writes Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., "a somewhat expensive link with civilization, costing Government over Rs. 13,000 annually, but in justice to Mr. Cleveland it should be remembered that he did not intend the arrangement to be more than temporary. Its object was to eke out the hill people's scanty means of subsistence and be a guarantee of good order till the arts of civilization should have taken root amongst them, for Mr. Cleveland confidently believed that at no distant date they would descend to the plains and take to cultivation and manufactures. The natural indolence of the mountaineers and their aversion to sustain honest labour were perhaps sufficient without the encouragement of the pensions to prevent the desired result . . . Reflections have been cast on the lavish expense of Mr. Cleveland's system and doubts have been entertained as to its necessity, but there can be no doubt that it was immediately and continuously effective in securing the good behaviour of the Pahārias and the freedom of the surrounding country from the troubles which had so long afflicted it. It was also in the long run a financial success, for one of its results was to deprive adjacent zamīndārs of even that nominal control which they may have once exercised over the hill people; and thus the way was paved for the separation of the Dāmin-i-koh as a Government estate, the development of which has added so materially to the land revenue resources of the district. This separation might have happened apart from Cleveland's hill system, but the hill system made it inevitable."

Other schemes devised by Cleveland for the benefit of the Pahārias fell to the ground after his death. For some years

the Hill Corps, to which the title of the Bhāgalpur Hill Rangers was now given, remained a serviceable body of men—largely, it appears, owing to the appointment of Lieutenant Shaw to its command in 1787. Later, however, it became "a mere rabble addicted to all sorts of vices and disorders." The hill assemblies or tribunals, when no longer kept together by the personal influence of Cleveland, became almost unmanageable. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the chiefs to meet at all; and when present they would not attend to the proceedings of the court, while their sentences were hasty and capricious. It was found too that even when the assemblies could be induced to do their work, the power they had been entrusted with was too uncontrolled and that the exemption of the Pahārias from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts was a measure of doubtful policy. Cleveland's plans for teaching simple manufactures and supplying them with seeds and agricultural implements were not carried on; the school he started for their education was dropped; the stipends promised to the tribal chiefs for maintaining peace and order, though regularly paid by Government, did not reach them; and the zamīndārs encroached on their lands.

An attempt to remedy this state of affairs was made by the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General from 1814-23. He made a short excursion into the Rājmahāl Hills with Lady Hastings, and promised to send them a quantity of seed potatoes and a stock of agricultural implements—for they still used only sharpened stakes to dig the ground—but unfortunately his promise was overlooked. He also revived the school started by Cleveland, and reorganized the Hill Rangers, though he was unable to carry out his intention of arming two companies with rifles, because, it is said, the men disliked the service exceedingly, having a strong objection to wearing green.*

The breakdown of Cleveland's system may be ascribed to the want of interest shown by his successors, with the exception of Mr. Fombelle. It was during his time that the rules introduced by Cleveland for the trial of criminal cases by the hill assembly were incorporated in Regulation I of 1796, which provided that the Magistrate should commit all important cases to be tried before an assembly of hill chiefs. The Magistrate was to attend the trial as Superintending Officer, and confirm or modify the sentence, if not exceeding fourteen years' imprisonment. Higher sentences were referred to the Nizāmat Adālat, as the Supreme Criminal Court was then called. This system continued till 1827, when the

* Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, 1828.*

hillmen were declared amenable to the ordinary courts, but some of the hill *mānjhis* were to sit with the Magistrate as assessors, and the *mānjhis* were also to settle disputes about land and succession, and to decide claims to money, if the claim was not for more than Rs. 100. Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining sanction in 1795 to the proposal that *pargana* Belpātā should be transferred from Bīrbhūm and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by Cleveland some years before—and also the hill portion of *pargana* Nuni to the south-east.

After Mr. Fombelle's time, the administration of the hills was left with very inadequate supervision in the hands of Abdul Rasūl Khān, who had done good work under Captain Browne and had been made *sazawāl* under Cleveland. He now became practically ruler of the hills, and is to this day remembered by the hill people as "Con Sāheb." He abused the trust reposed in him, and his corruption and tyranny led to numerous complaints. These complaints, and the disputes between the hillmen and the lowland zamīndārs, caused Government in 1818 to depute Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhāgalpur, to enquire into his conduct, to report generally on the measures necessary for the future administration of the hills, and to ascertain on what tenures the Pahārias held their land and what were their relations to Government. After a detailed enquiry, in the course of which he traversed the whole of the tract, Mr. Sutherland recommended in 1819—(1) That Government should declare that the hill tract occupied by the hill people was the property of Government alone. (2) That the level country skirting the external ranges of hills was distinct from the adjoining zamīndāri estates and was also its property. (3) That measures should be taken for defining the extent of the skirts of the hills and the hilly tract.

These recommendations were accepted by Government in 1823, and in 1824 the Hon'ble Mr. John Petty Ward was deputed to demarcate the Dāmin-i-koh with the assistance of a survey officer named Captain Tanner. The work was concluded in 1833, and in 1837 Mr. Pontet was placed in charge of its revenue administration under the title of Superintendent of the Dāmin-i-koh, being specially instructed to give the Santāls, who were now pouring in, every encouragement in the work of clearing jungle. So successfully did he fulfil his task, that by 1851 the revenue had been raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 43,919, and the influx of Santāls into the Dāmin-i-koh had been so great, that they numbered 82,795 residing in 1,473 villages. According to a contemporary notice in the *Friend of India*:—"With little more jurisdiction than that of a Deputy Collector, he (Mr. Pontet) has acquired among these wild people a

power that is almost regal. The most observant wayfarers can instantly discover the circle of Mr. Pontet's jurisdiction; for whereas beyond it there are villages containing five thousand inhabitants without one solitary hackery, within it there are broad roads from village to village, and the country is alive with the activity of a quiet and prosperous people." A few years after these words were written the Santāls broke out in rebellion.

SANTAL REBELLION.

The Santāls seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Bīrbhūm, where they had been brought in about 1790 to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumkā subdivision by 1809, "having come last from Bīrbhūm in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamīndārs." Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santāls. In 1818 Mr. Sutherland found them busy clearing the forest below the hills in the Goddā subdivision; in 1827 Mr. Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the same subdivision; while a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhāgalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Dāmin-i-koh "inhabited by the Santāls and Bhuiyās, but chiefly by the former." Under the administration of Mr. Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santāls spread far afield without much opposition from the idle Pahārias, and even penetrated to the Burhait valley in the heart of the Rājmahāl Hills. "This valley," wrote Captain Sherwill in 1851, "viewed from any of the surrounding hills affords an admirable example of what can be done with natives, when their natural industry and perseverance are guarded and encouraged by kindness. When Mr. Pontet took charge of the hills in 1835, this valley was a wilderness, inhabited here and there by hillmen; the remainder was overrun with heavy forest, in which wild elephants and tigers were numerous; but now in 1851 several hundred substantial Santāl villagers, with an abundance of cattle and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy this hitherto neglected spot. The hillmen have with a few exceptions retired to the hills"

It was among the Santāl settlers in the Dāmin-i-koh that the rebellion of 1855, known as the *hul*, had its origin, the older settlers of the Dumkā subdivision taking little part in it. The causes of the rebellion were several, the Santāls themselves declaring that their chief grievances were the prevalence of false-

hood, the negligence of the *sāhibs*, the extortion of the *mahājans*, the corruption of the *amlā*, and the oppression of the police. All these grievances were due very largely to the absence of European officers and the presence of Bengali and other *Dikku*, *i.e.*, non-Santāl, immigrants, who had flocked in to carry on trade and money-lending among the Santāls. The district as now constituted was divided between Bhāgalpur and Bīrbhūm, and the only resident Magistrate was at Deoghar. The revenue administration of the Dāmin-i-koh was under the Superintendent, assisted by four *naib sasāwals*, who used to visit it in order to collect rent and settle disputes about lands. The Superintendent was the only European official who visited the Dāmin, and he had no authority to deal with civil and criminal cases. The Santāl had therefore to make his way to the courts at Deoghar and Bhāgalpur. Justice was thus far off ; the Bengali *mahājan* was at his door. The Santāl, thriftless and improvident, easily got into debt; exorbitant interest was charged, and once he had contracted a debt he had little chance of escape.

If his creditor sued him, all the evidence the Santāl could produce was a knotted string, in which the knots represented the number of rupees he had received and the spaces between them the years which had elapsed since he took the loan. The usurer, on the other hand, had his ledgers and day-book ready, all carefully written up, and a bond or a deed of sale, or a mortgage, perhaps, forged for the occasion. Often he did not trouble to refer to the courts to realise his capital and interest. He simply sent his agents and swept off his debtor's cattle. The Santāl, ignorant and timid, felt that it was a hopeless task for him to obtain redress against a wealthy oppressor. He seldom lodged a complaint, for his sole wealth consisting of his cattle, he could not fee *mukhtārs* and *amlā*. Should he overcome these difficulties and venture to complain, he probably would only get an order on the police to enquire and report, and the police played into the hands of the money-lender. In the Dāmin-i-koh, therefore, Government asserted its position neither through the courts nor through the executive. The courts were remote and practically inaccessible; their processes were served by corrupt *amlā* and peons. The executive was represented by the *naib sazāwals* or *darogas*, also corrupt and oppressive, who were ready instruments in the hands of the *mahājan*, besides making exactions on their own account. Not only did the Santāls find themselves neglected, but they saw very different treatment given to their neighbours, the Pahārias, who had special police rules and were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts.

Outside the Dāmin-i-koh, in zamīndāri areas, the Santāl was better off, for though *mahājans* had been allowed to settle freely in the villages, the old zamīndārs were at least a counterbalancing force and prevented them usurping too much power. The latter, however, were being supplanted by the hated *Dikkus* or foreigners, who ousted their Santāl tenants from the lands they had cleared. These lands had been settled with them by the original zamīndārs on long leases at easy rates that they might reclaim jungle. As cultivation extended, the Bengalis and other foreigners induced the Santāls to sell some of their surplus lands. They thus gradually extended their holdings, and finally secured the best lands in the village by exacting mortgages from the improvident Santāls in return for loans. Many of the Santāls were consequently driven to commence life again by clearing fresh jungle and founding new villages, to be again ousted by their more astute and unscrupulous neighbours. Several old *ghātwāl* families and petty landholders having also got into difficulties, their estates were sold and passed into the hands of the *Dikkus.* In some cases, again, old families became indebted to Bengalis and executed usufructuary mortgages of their estates for a term of years on the understanding that the mortgagees would pay the Government revenue. The latter, however, wilfully omitted to pay the revenue, and the result was that the landlord was declared a defaulter and his estate sold, the mortgagee himself eventually becoming a *benāmi* purchaser. As long as the old proprietors remained, the Santāls were well treated, but after the advent of Bengalis and other land speculators, no consideration was shown to them. The new landlords were non-resident; they rack-rented the ryots, and the latter in despair gave up their leases and were replaced by strangers.

Another device which worked much mischief among the Santāls was the execution of bonds, by which the debtor promised to work out his debt by personal service and the payment of an exorbitant rate of interest. The Santāl thus became a *kamiyā*, *i.e.*, the bond servant of his creditor. The effects of this system may be realized from the remarks of Mr. (later Sir) William LeFleming Robinson, I.C.S., who in 1858 secured its abolition in the Santāl Parganas "It was called Kamiotee, but it is not peculiar to Sonthalia or the Sonthals. You will find it nearly all over the country, I believe, in one form or another. But in Sonthalia it was very bad. A man borrowed money and gave a bond to work it out, binding himself to work for the lender, whenever he was required, without pay. The lender of course required his services at harvest and the other busy seasons of the

year, when the debtor could have got work and pay elsewhere; and when work was slack, the lender of course did not require his slave's services. He could make nothing elsewhere; all he got when working was food, and sometimes a bit of cloth once a year. As interest was taken in advance, the debtor could never work out his debt; the interest was never less than 25 per cent., often much more. The son, daughter or other nearest relation of the debtor used in case of his death to be considered liable, and if suits were brought against these bonds in the old Munsiff's courts, they used to give decrees for their due execution, no matter how old the debt or who was working it out at the time. I have had a bond brought to me in which Rs. 25 was originally borrowed by a man who worked his lifetime, his son did ditto, and I released his grandson from any further necessity; it had been running on for over thirty years, if I remember rightly!" The discontent of the Santāls under this system was accentuated by the good wages obtained by free labourers. The latter went away to work on the railway, which was then under construction, and returning with their savings were able to deck out their women in simple finery and feast their fellow villagers.

Last, but by no means least, there was another influence at work, viz., the Santāls' yearning for independence and for recognition as lords of the soil—a motive which inspired them with the idea of establishing a kingdom for themselves under their own *Subahs* or chiefs.

The grievances of the Santāls had for some time produced a spirit of unrest, which resulted, in 1854, in a number of *mahājans*' houses being attacked at night. These outrages were treated as ordinary dacoities, and their perpetrators were caught, tried and convicted, protesting bitterly that their oppressors were not even rebuked. In January 1855 two gang robberies were committed by Santāls, but Government ordered the release of the convicted robbers, as it appeared that the crime was due to the oppression of usurers. It seems probable that this act of clemency was regarded by the Santāls as a confession of weakness. However that may be, in July 1855 a revolt broke out among the Santāls, who found leaders in four brothers named Sidu, Khanu, Chandu and Bhairab, inhabitants of the village of Bhagnadihi, a short distance south of Burhait, which had suffered much from the Hindu usurers. All four were landless men, and Sidu and Khanu, who were the leading spirits, had long been brooding over their real or imaginary wrongs. They now gave out that they had witnessed a divine apparition and been charged with a divine message. The story ran that a Thākur or god appeared to them

in the form of a white man, dressed like a native, with ten fingers on each hand. He wrote in a book, which he gave the brothers, together with 20 pieces of paper in five batches. He then ascended upwards and disappeared, after which two men appeared, each with six fingers on each hand, and having told them the purport of the Thākur's order, likewise vanished. For some time the god appeared to the two brothers every day: at one time as a flame of fire, with a book, some white paper and a knife; at another in the form of a solid cart wheel. A shrine was erected consisting of a mound of mud crowned by a cart wheel, at which the villagers were instructed to present offerings of grain and milk, and to sacrifice kids and buffaloes. Here the worshippers were shown the slips of paper and the book (which proved to be none other than the Gospel according to St. John), and were told that in them were written the orders of the god. The news of the miracle spread far and wide, and messengers were sent to all the *mānjhis* of the Dāmin-i-koh, bearing a branch of the *sāl* tree, which, like the fiery cross of the Highlands, was a signal to the people to gather together.

On the appointed day, the 30th June 1855, at full moon, 10,000 Santāls are said to have met at Bhagnadihi, where the Thākur's orders to them were announced. Letters are said to have been written addressed to Government, to the authorities at Bhāgalpur and Bīrbhūm, to some police *dārogās*, zamīndārs and others, informing them of these orders. The Santāls, it is said, disclaimed any intentions of opposing the Government, and declared that their new god had directed them to collect and pay revenue to the State, at the rate of two annas on every buffalo-plough, one anna on each bullock-plough, and half-an-anna on each cow-plough per annum. The rate of interest upon loans was to be one pice in the rupee yearly. The Santāls were further enjoined to slaughter at once all the *mahājans* and *dārogās*, to banish the traders and zamīndārs and all rich Bengalis from their country, to sever their connection with the Dāmin-i-koh, and to fight all who resisted them, for the bullets of their enemies would be turned to water. Whatever may be the truth of this story, there is no trace of any letters containing this proclamation having been received by the authorities. It appears, however, that Khanu and Sidu proclaimed themselves lords of the country under the title of *Sūbahs*, and appointed *naibs*, *dārogās* and other subordinate officers.

The *dārogā* of Dighi or Burio Bazar having heard of the gathering, set out with a following of *barkandāzes* to arrest the four brothers, instigated, it is said, by some Hindu money-lenders, who feared for themselves and bribed him to bring a false charge of

dacoity against them. When he met the Santāls assembled at Pachkutiā, a little north of Barhait, they refused to disperse, and directed him to levy a tax of Rs. 5 on every Bengali family in the neighbourhood. Then, on his angrily ordering the arrest of the brothers, they fell on him with their battle-axes and cut off his head. After this murder, the Santāls set out on the war trail. The Collector of Bhāgalpur and Mr. Pontet were at the time at Rājmahāl, where they took shelter in the old Sangidalān or palace of Shāh Shujā, then the house of the Railway Engineer, Mr. Vigors. This was barricaded and fortified, and they and the railway officials held it against the attacks of the rebels until troops arrived. When the news of the outbreak reached Bhāgalpur, the Hill Rangers were called out and advanced to Piālapur, but they were beaten off the field by the Santāls, in spite of the latter being armed only with bows and arrows. The Santāls were left masters of the country and ravaged it from Colgong on the west to Rājmahāl on the east, and nearly as far as Rānīganj and Sainthiā on the south.

The first move against them was made by a detachment of 400 men of the 7th Native Infantry, which, on the 11th July, advanced from Berhampore under Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate of Murshidābād. The rebels had marched eastward and after killing a *sazāwal* known as Khān Sāhib, had fired the house of the Raja of Ambar at Kadamsair, a few miles south of Pākaur. They next attacked an indigo factory at the same place, but were held in check by the planter, Mr. C. Maseyk, who, with two companions armed with fowling pieces, fired at them from a boat in the middle of a nullah. News of the attack was sent to his brother at Dulliān, and the civil authorities sent up 160 police, who forced the rebels to retreat. Unable to effect their purpose, the Santāls moved on, destroying some railway works and sacking Pākaur, and then fell on Palsā in Bīrbhūm. The troops arrived at Kadamsair shortly after the Santāls had left, and pursued them to Palsā, too late, however, to save it from being sacked. They marched on the same night to Maheshpur, where they signally defeated the rebels next morning (July 15th); Sidu, Khanu and Bhairab were wounded, though not mortally, and 200 other Santāls killed and wounded. Chandu and Khanu met another reverse at Raghunāthpur not long afterwards; and at Maheshpur, which was garrisoned by a detachment of the 7th Native Infantry, the Santāls failed in an attack on the Rāja's house, which they wanted as a residence for their *Sūbah*. A few days later the troops, after overcoming a faint resistance, forced the passes in the hills, and on the 24th July took Burhait, the Santāl capital; while

Sidu was treacherously handed over to the Bhāgalpur troops by some of his followers.

Towards the end of July all the troops available had been mobilized and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Lloyd, who had already acquired some fame as the founder of Darjeeling, and subsequently tarnished his reputation by his failure to suppress the mutiny at Dinapore in 1857. Colonel Bird was shortly afterwards appointed to the special command of the troops employed in the Bānkurā and Bīrbhūm districts. General Lloyd was not, however, given full and independent authority; for though he was at first informed that Government placed the conduct of the operations entirely in his hands, an order issued on the 30th July stated that "it was not intended that the military should act independently of the civil power, but that only the nature of the military operations should be entirely in the hands of the military commanders." There were consequently misunderstandings between the civil and military officers, and the Governor of India also refused to permit the Lieutenant-Governor to proclaim martial law. Within a month, however, the country to the north, towards Bhāgalpur, had been cleared and the insurgents driven southwards, and in the south quiet had been restored to some parts. But there were still 30,000 men in arms, and after each reverse they took refuge in the jungle, from which it was difficult to expel them during the rains.

The local Government now issued a proclamation offering a free pardon to all who would come in and submit within ten days, except ring-leaders and persons proved to have committed murder. The offer was treated as a confession of weakness, and in September the rebels showed renewed activity. By the end of that month the whole country from Deoghar to the south-western border of the district was in their hands. In one direction an army of Santāls moved through the district three thousand strong, and in another their number amounted to seven thousand. The beginning of cold weather, however, enabled the troops to take the field with greater effect, and on the 10th of November martial law was proclaimed, *i.e.*, it was directed that any one taken in arms in open hostility to Government, or opposing its authority by force of arms, or committing any overt act of rebellion, should be tried by Court Martial and, if convicted, immediately executed. A large force now swept through the country, to which little resistance was offered by the Santāls, who, unable to break through the cordon of troops, in some places 12,000 to 14,000 strong, were weakened by hunger and disease.

The combined effect of the proclamation and of the activity of the troops was soon apparent. Driven out of the open country, the Santāls were forced back to the jungles, and a number of their leaders were captured, including Khanu, who was taken prisoner near Uparbanda, north-east of Jāmtārā, by the *sardār ghātwāl* of Kunjrā. Eventually, on the 3rd January 1856, quiet had been so far restored, that the Government of India were able to suspend the further operation of martial law. There were a few outbreaks after this, but the rebels were thoroughly broken and cowed; and by the end of the cold weather the rising was at an end.

The rebellion was marked throughout by scenes of inhuman cruelty, *e.g.*, slow roasting of men, torture of children, the ripping up of women, the drinking of blood, etc. Villages were burnt, property pillaged, and the country devastated. The most brutal outrages were committed on the Bengalis, whom the Santāls regarded as their real enemies. When a *mahājan* fell into their hands, they first cut off his feet with their *pharsas* or battle-axes with the taunt that that was 4 annas in the rupee, then cut off his legs at the thigh to make up 8 annas, then cut him in two at his waist to make up 12 annas, and finally took off his head to complete the 16 annas, shouting "*Pharkati*," *i.e.*, a full quittance. A similar savage sense of humour was displayed by them in chopping up the body of a zamīndār into 22 pieces, one for each of his ancestors. They themselves declared that they warred against the Bengalis and not against the English, and there is a story that they sent *parwānas* informing some indigo planters that as they were cultivators like themselves, they would not be molested, if they stayed in their factories and supplied them with *rasad*. Unfortunately for these claims, there are authentic cases of their murdering defenceless Europeans as well as burning down their bungalows and destroying railway works. In one case two unfortunate European ladies were cut down when trying to escape, and in another an old planter and his three sons were murdered near Teliāgarhī, when they tried to defend a village against one of the Santāl bands. The natives all fled, and the elephant carrying the father and one young man ran into a *jhil;* the Santāls then scaled up its side and spilt open their heads, while the other two sons fell pierced by arrows.

At the same time the Santāls showed a certain chivalry in the struggle against the troops. Although it was their custom to use poisoned arrows in shooting and hunting, they did not use them against the soldiers. There is, at least, one instance of their giving fair warning before making an attack, for having captured a *dāk* runner and looted his mail bags, they spared his life on

condition that he went to Surī carrying a branch of the *sāl* tree with three leaves on it, to show that in three days they would attack the town. They also showed the most reckless courage. In one case 45 Santāls had taken refuge in a mud house and refused to surrender. Volley and volley was fired in, and at every volley quarter was offered; but each time the Santāls answered with a discharge of arrows. At last, when their fire slackened, the troops entered the huts and found only one old man alive. A sepoy called on him to lay down his arms, whereupon the old man rushed on the sepoy and cut him down with his battle-axe. The general character of the struggle has been vividly described by Major Jervis, who commanded some of the troops. "It was not war; they did not understand yielding. As long as their national drum beat, the whole party would stand, and allow themselves to be shot down. Their arrows often killed our men, and so we had to fire on them as long as they stood. When their drum ceased, they would move off for a quarter of a mile; then their drums began again, and they calmly stood till we came up and poured a few volleys into them. There was not a sepoy in the war who did not feel ashamed of himself." The conduct of the Pahārias was very dissimilar. They followed the Santāl bands at a respectable distance, and waited until the latter had driven away the peaceful inhabitants of the villages. Then they rushed in, and taking advantage of their absence and of the Santāls pursuing, seized everything they could lay hands on and speedily retired, leaving to the Santāls all the fighting and but little of the plunder.*

The Government and the public alike had been taken by surprise by the rebellion, and while it raged, the most drastic measures for pacifying the Santāls were proposed. It was remarked, for instance, by a writer in *The Friend of India*:—"It is only by striking terror into these blood-thirsty savages, who have respected neither age nor sex, that we can hope to quell this insurrection. It is necessary to avenge the outrages committed, and to protect the cultivators of the plains from a repetition of them. The Santāls believe that they can enjoy the luxury of blood and plunder for a month without a certainty of retribution. It is absolutely necessary that this impression should be removed or obliterated, if Government would not in these districts sit on bayonet points. To achieve this end, the retribution must be

* This account of the rebellion has been compiled from *The Sonthal Rebellion*, Calcutta Review, 1856; *The Sonthal Pergunnahs*, Calcutta Review, 1860; *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, by E. G. Man, 1867; and *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, by Sir W. W. Hunter.

complete, leaving no calculation of chances for future rioters; striking, that none may fail to know and understand; and tremendous, that people may know their lives and happiness are not held of light account. It is to Pegu that we would convey the Santāls, not one or two of their ringleaders, but the entire population of the infected districts." After the close of the rebellion milder counsels prevailed. A special enquiry was made, and it was recognized that the Santāls had genuine grievances.

It was decided that a special system of administration should be introduced, and Act XXXVII of 1855 was passed, which removed from the operation of the general laws and regulations "the district called the Dāmin-i-koh and other districts which are inhabited chiefly by the uncivilized race of people called Sonthals." This area was separated from the districts of Bhāgalpur and Bīrbhūm and formed into four sub-districts, viz., Dumkā, Deoghar, (including Jāmtārā), Goddā and Rājmahāl, (including Pākaur), which were known collectively as the Santāl Parganas. These sub-districts were placed under a Deputy Commissioner and four Assistant Commissioners, who were given jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. The regular police were abolished, and the duty of keeping the peace and arresting criminals was vested in the villagers themselves, the headman of each village being held directly responsible. A non-regulation system was introduced, the main feature of which was direct communication between the people and their rulers. The three chief principles were:—(1) to have no intermediary between the Santāl and the Assistant Commissioner; (2) to have complaints made verbally without a written petition or the presence of *amlā*; (3) to have all criminal work carried on with the help of the Santāls themselves, who were to bring in the accused, with the witnesses, to the courts. So successfully was this system worked under the first Deputy Commissioner Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ashley Eden and the Commissioner Mr. George Yule, C.B., that during the Mutiny of 1857 not only did the Santāls take no part in the disturbances, but it was found possible to enlist a number of them to serve as police.

THE SEPOY MUTINY.

When the Mutiny broke out, Rohinī was the head-quarters of the 5th Irregular Cavalry, and there were three officers of that regiment stationed there, viz., the Commandant Major Macdonald, the Adjutant Sir Norman Leslie, and Dr. Grant. On the 8th June, just a month after the outbreak at Meerut, these three officers were attacked, as they were sitting at tea outside Major Macdonald's bungalow, three men suddenly rushing on them with drawn swords. Sir Norman Leslie turned to enter the house

to get his sword, but, his foot slipping, he was cut down at once. The other two seized the chairs on which they had been sitting, and with them endeavoured to defend themselves. Both were wounded and would have been killed had it not been that their assailants suddenly lost heart and fled. The men of the regiment were called together and their swords inspected, but all were found perfectly clean. The men of the regiment had till then behaved well, and from the fact that the murderers had worn *dhotis*, it was thought that they were disbanded sepoys, many of whom, had been seen in the neighbourhood. It was soon ascertained, however, through the agency of the Urdi Major Imām Khān that they belonged to the regiment. They were seized, brought to a drum-head court martial, and sentenced to be hanged. Major Macdonald, in spite of the fact that his head had been cut open, and that a rising of the sepoys might at once follow, was equal to the occasion.

To quote his own account—"One of the prisoners was of a very high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy by getting a low caste man to hang him. To tell the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive, but I determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out: wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralyzed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from Government. The third said that he would not be hanged, and called on the Prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen balls through me: so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said with a look there was no mistake about—'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up, he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up and off in the same way. And after some time, when I dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I really could scarcely believe it."

Subsequent events proved that there was at that time an organized conspiracy in the regiment: that many knew of the plot to assassinate their three officers and only waited its fulfilment to rise *en masse*. The prompt action and bold front of Major Macdonald had, however, such an effect on the regiment,

that it remained quiet till the middle of August, when the 5th Irregulars at Bhāgalpur mutinied and marched on to Rohinī. There they were joined by their comrades of the regiment, and after having extorted Rs. 12,000 from the people of the place, the whole body marched off to Bausi, the head-quarters of the 32nd Native Infantry. The mutineers hoped that the latter would join them; but they had been forestalled, for a messenger, at the risk of his life, brought news of the mutiny to the Commandant Colonel Burney, arriving just half an hour before the troopers. The authorities at Deoghar were similarly warned by another messenger, who walked 80 miles in 30 hours. Dumkā itself, at which there was a troop of the 5th Irregulars, was saved by the forethought of Babu Syāmalāl Nand Mukherji, who had the treasure and prisoners sent off to Surī. The *sowārs* after these failures proceeded westward by rapid marches.

After this nothing worthy of record occurred till the 9th October, when a detachment of the 32nd Native Infantry at Deoghar suddenly broke out into mutiny, murdered their commanding officer, Lieutenant Cooper, and Mr. Roland, the Assistant Commissioner, and having plundered the bazar, marched off to Rohinī, and thence to the west, following the same route as that taken by the 5th Irregulars. "Some of the circumstances attending this outbreak," wrote the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, "are worth recording as illustrating the unaccountable conduct which has on many occasions been displayed by the sepoys during the outbreak. Lieutenants Cooper and Rannie and Mr. Roland, the Assistant Commissioner, were all surprised in the same bungalow, which the sepoys completely surrounded. Lieutenant Cooper was an officer who implicitly trusted his men, was constantly with them in familiar intercourse, and appeared to be an object of sincere attachment. Mr. Roland was an utter stranger to them: whilst Lieutenant Rannie, though of course well known to the men, took no particular pains to please them. Yet him they specially spared, calling out to him by name to come out of the bungalow and allowing him to leave the place unmolested, whilst they ruthlessly murdered their friend Lieutenant Cooper and the stranger Mr. Roland, of whom they could know nothing bad or good."

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. The subsequent history of the district is almost entirely administrative and is associated with the names of successive Deputy Commissioners. Mr. Ashley Eden, who drew up the police rules known as Yule's Rules after the Commissioner, was succeeded in 1856 by Mr. (afterwards Sir Rivers) Thomson, and the latter by Sir William Robinson, who held office from 1858

to 1860, and in these few years succeeded in carrying through a number of reforms, including the abolition of the *kamiyā* system already referred to. The next Deputy Commissioner was Mr. Browne Wood, who held office till 1873. During these 13 years, the district began to relapse to the Regulation system owing to a ruling of the Advocate-General in 1863, which tied the hands of the officers, and enabled the zamīndārs, while keeping within the letter of the law, to enhance rents freely, turn out village headmen at their pleasure, and replace them by strangers, who rack-rented the Santāls and drove them from the lands they had cleared. Further, the Civil Procedure Code (Act VIII of 1859) compelled the courts to decree debts and the extortionate rates of interest demanded by the *mahājans*. Effect thus ceased to be given to an order issued by Mr. Commissioner Yule, limiting the rate of interest to 25 per cent., which had proved of great benefit to the people. The readmission of professional lawyers into the courts had also tended to place the Santāls at a disadvantage in litigation with their landlords, as the latter were generally able to secure the best men to conduct their cases.

Great discontent ensued and came to a head in 1871, when there were unmistakable signs of unrest among the Santāls of the Dumkā and Goddā sub-divisions. Large parties gathered to make tumultuous appeals to British officers or collected in the jungles in great hunting parties, giving out that they intended going in a body to Dumkā and other headquarters, and perhaps even to Bhāgalpur, to obtain redress of their grievances. Their excitement naturally alarmed the Bengali inhabitants of the district, who still retained a vivid recollection of the atrocities committed on them during the rebellion of 1855. In the Dumkā bazar prices fell 50 per cent. in a few days, and a general stampede seemed imminent. The state of panic among the Bengali population may be gathered from an incident which occurred in *pargana* Sultānābād. A tiger having killed a bullock in the village of Hāthimārā, close to Maheshpur, the Santāls turned out and beat their kettle-drums to scare away the animal. The sound of the kettle-drums, which was the usual summons to an armed gathering in 1855, was believed by the Bengalis to be the first signal for an outbreak, and 500 or 600 of them fled, with their families, cattle and goods, to the Murarai station of the East Indian Railway, declaring that the Santāls had risen and were following them with the object of looting the country. The Railway District Engineer stationed at Rāmpur Hāt thereupon proceeded with a body of volunteers to Murarai to meet an

enemy who never came, and soon discovered the groundlessness of the panic. The Deputy Commissioner also reassured the fugitives, and Mahārājā Gopāl Singh of Maheshpur took measures to allay the fears of the people, so that in two or three days the alarm subsided.

An enquiry was instituted, and it was shown that the Santāls had real grievances. There had been extensive rack-renting, ejectment of village headmen, seizure of rent-free lands of village priests and others, breaking up of the village community system so much cherished by the Santāls, and other acts of oppression by zamīndārs. The then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, considered that it would be almost impossible to define by an exact law the rights to which the people had an equitable claim, and that the only satisfactory course would be to put the whole matter in the hands of an able and judicious officer, acting on general principles laid down for his guidance. It was decided therefore that a rough settlement of the Santāl Parganas should be carried out by a Settlement Officer untrammelled by detailed laws, who would record the rights of all parties as determined by himself.

This object was secured by the enactment of Regulation III of 1872 "for the peace and good government of the Santāl Parganas." That Regulation gave the Lieutenant-Governor full power to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed rights, to restore dispossessed headmen and others, to settle rents, and to record the customs and usages of the people. It also introduced a usury law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts, and it laid down what laws were to be in force and what left to the discretion of Government to introduce or withdraw from time to time. Under the provisions of this Regulation, Mr. Browne Wood, who was appointed Settlement Officer, made a settlement of the whole district between the years 1873 and 1879, defining and recording the rights and duties of landlords and tenants, and, where necessary, fixing fair rents. One of the results of this settlement was to preserve the Santāl village community system, under which the village community, as a whole, holds the village lands and has collective rights over the village waste. These rights, which have not been able to survive elsewhere in Bengal, were recorded and saved from encroachment. The settlement also established on a firm footing the status of the headman, and restrained the zamīndārs from interfering with the management and internal economy of the villages.

The subsequent history of the district has been uneventful. In 1874-75 there was a certain amount of unrest arising partly

from the excitement attending the settlement operations and partly from the Kharwār movement. Disaffection manifested itself by a spirit of resistance to the payment of rent and by attempts to form a kind of political organization. Two ringleaders, named Bhagīrath Mānjhi and Gyān Parganait, were imprisoned, and as a further precautionary measure, additional police were sent to the district and a wing of the 4th Native Infantry from Bhāgalpur was stationed at Dumkā. In 1880-81 there was a revival of the Kharwār movement, which gave much trouble during the preparations for the census, interested agitators seizing the opportunity for a tribal administration. The Subdivisional Officer of Dumkā was besieged in his tent by a howling mob for a whole night, the subdivisional bungalow at Jāmtārā was burnt down, and Mr. Cosserat, the officer in charge of the census of the Dāmin-i-koh, was surprised and taken prisoner at Katikund. Objection was taken to the numbering of houses and of the people, and to the record of their names, while the fact that the final enumeration was to be carried out at night lent colour to representations that Government meditated some widespread policy of violence. It was, therefore, thought necessary to dispense with the final nocturnal enumeration; and in order to overawe the Santāls, a body of military police was posted in the district and a field force of 4,500 cavalry and infantry was sent up under Colonel (now General Sir Thomas) Gordon. Troops were marched through the district, and these measures proved effectual in preventing any further disturbance.

SANTAL OFFICERS.

In conclusion, mention may be made of the officers to whom the administration of the district has been entrusted whether as Deputy Commissioners or Settlement Officers, and who are therefore distinguished by the name of Santāl officers. The first Deputy Commissioner was Sir Ashley Eden, who was succeeded in February 1856 by Sir Rivers Thomson, who held charge during the Mutiny. From 1858 to 1860 the Deputy Commissioner was Sir William Le Fleming Robinson, whose administration has been described as follows :—"No local officer carried out such sweeping reforms, and so well were they established, that it is hard to realize now the state of things which preceded them. His efforts were chiefly directed against the different forms of servitude by debtors, which was so prevalent and easy to enforce; but he attacked every system by which the powerful, the more instructed, or the cunning could get the better of the poor and ignorant."* He was succeeded in 1860 by one of the uncovenanted Assistants,

* W. B. Oldham, Introduction to Reprint of the Laws of the Sonthal Parganas, 1889.

Mr. Browne Wood, who held office as Deputy Commissioner for 19½ years. In 1873 he was selected by Sir George Campbell to carry out the first settlement of the district, a task which, it was held, could only be performed by 'an able and judicious officer.' Mr. Browne Wood amply justified his selection, and ably discharged the duties entrusted to him for six years (1873-79). To his settlement the Santāls are indebted for fixity of rents, stability of tenure and the preservation of their village community system. During these six years Mr. John Boxwell officiated as Deputy Commissioner. "Probably no other officer so well adapted for carrying out Sir George Campbell's view could have been selected. Not only did he thoroughly grasp and appreciate them, but he brought to their fulfilment both qualities and attainments of a high order. To the people he was a veritable *Avatār*, and he set himself to study and master the Santāl tongue."*

The next Deputy Commissioner was Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., who held office for 5 years; and he was succeeded, after a brief interval, by Mr. R. Carstairs, who held office, with short intervals of leave, for 13 years. "All these officers," writes Mr. McPherson, "were loyal interpreters of the principles of administration which found expression in Act XXXVII of 1855 and Regulation III of 1872. If Mr. Wood and Mr. Boxwell were the makers of the settlement and the Santāl system, Mr. Oldham and Mr. Carstairs may well be styled the "guardians" of the same. Mr. Oldham had Mr. G. N. Barlow for his Commissioner throughout his incumbency, but in Mr. Carstairs' time there were frequent changes in the Commissionership and all holders of the office were not permeated with an equal amount of sympathy for the non-regulation system. Mr. Carstairs had to do many a battle for the principles on which the administration of his district was founded." Mr. John Craven conducted the first revision settlements for six years (1888—94) under the guidance of Mr. Carstairs. With the more recent operations conducted for the last 10 years by Mr. H. McPherson and Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, the Deputy Commissioner most closely associated was Mr. C. H. Bompas. During his tenure of office many important questions connected with the administration of the district and of the Dāmin-i-koh were passed in review, the discussions raised by the settlement operations resulting in three important amendments of the Santāl Parganas Settlement and Rent Regulations, viz., Regulations II of 1904, III of 1907, and III of 1908.

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* W. B. Oldham, Introduction to Reprint of the Laws of the Sonthal Parganas, 1889.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

GROWTH OF POPULATION.

STATISTICS of the population as recorded at each census are given in the margin, from which it will be seen that the number of inhabitants has increased by nearly 50 per cent. in 30 years. Some of the increase, however, is due to improved enumeration, the census of 1872 and of 1881 having been attended by considerable difficulties. In 1872 a number of wild rumours were afloat in the Dāmin portion of the Goddā subdivision, *e.g.*, that people were to be taken from each village and deported to clear jungle in Assam and the Duārs, that they were being counted in order to convert them to Christianity by force, etc. The ryots of Boārijor drove the *parganait*, and the *mānjhis* who were assisting him, out of their villages, and refused to allow the census to proceed. When the Extra Assistant Commissioner arrived on the spot, he found about 1,500 people assembled, in real terror of the evils which would come upon them if they were counted, the men declaring that they were helpless as the bare mention of a census was enough to make their women and children frantic. It seems, however, that they never had any intention of offering a serious resistance to the census, for when it was explained that the *parganait* had only been acting under the orders of Government, the crowd readily dispersed, with the remark that the *sarkār* might do what it pleased, but they would rather not be counted. Elsewhere the census passed off quietly, but primitive methods had to be employed for enumerating the people in parts of the Dāmin-i-koh owing to the ignorance of the people and the fear of alarming an easily excitable population. The Santāls have no written language of their own, and there were comparatively very few of them who can write Hindī or Bengali. Recourse was had therefore to their own national method of counting, *viz.*, by tying knots on a number of strings, which were coloured differently, so as to distinguish males from females and children from adults.

1872	... 1,259,185
1881	... 1,567,966
1891	... 1,753,775
1901	... 1,809,737

In the Dāmin portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision such coloured strings were distributed through the *parganaits* or heads of communes to the *mānjhis* or village headmen of the Santāls, and through the Pahāria *sardārs* to their *naibs* and *mānjhis*. These strings were of four colours—black for male adults, red for female adults, white for boys, and yellow for girls. The people were counted by the *mānjhis*, and their numbers recorded by tying a knot for each person on the string representing the proper sex and age. Within the portion of the Dāmin-i-koh attached to the Goddā subdivision, the Santāls and Pahārias were similarly enumerated by means of knotting different coloured strings representing the males, females, and children separately. In some villages three people were told off to keep the reckoning, which was done by so many seeds or small pieces of gravel, one person keeping a reckoning of the men, another of the women and a third of the children. This enumeration is known to have been incomplete, and in 1881 there were outbreaks which vitiated the results, the final nocturnal enumeration being omitted. The first reliable census was that of 1891, but even in that year the enumeration was the occasion of wild rumours in the Rājmahāl subdivision, *e.g.*, it was stated that Government was numbering the people to enable it to send them as coolies to Assam, that enhanced rents were to be levied, and that all Santāls except the Kharwārs were to be made Christians.

CENSUS OF 1901. The census of 1901 showed a net increase of 55,962 persons or 3·2 per cent.—a surprisingly small rate of growth for a healthy district with a prolific population. This result was attributed to the large scale on which emigration has taken place: it was, in fact, estimated that about 182,000 persons left the district during the previous 10 years, and that but for this the increase of the population would have been at least 10 per cent. The following table gives the salient statistics of the census:—

Subdivision.	Area in square miles.	Number of—		Population.	Population per square mile.	Percentage of variation in population between 1891 and 1901.
		Towns.	Villages.			
Deoghar ...	952	2	2,368	297,403	312	+4·7
Goddā ...	967	...	1,274	390,323	404	+1·4
Pākaur ...	683	...	1,055	238,648	349	+3·6
Rājmahāl ...	741	1	1,292	276,703	373	+0·1
Dumkā ...	1,429	...	2,105	416,861	292	+3·1
Jāmtārā ...	698	...	1,073	189,799	272	+9·2
District Total	5,470	3	9,167	1,809,737	331	+3·2

Density. The density of population, *viz.*, 331 per square mile, is less than in any other district of the Bhāgalpur Division. On the north-east and north-west, in thānas Mahāgamā, Goddā and Pākaur, where there is a considerable area of low fertile country, the soil supports a fairly dense population; but the Dāmin-i-koh, which accounts for a quarter of the whole district, is very sparsely inhabited. In the south the density of population rises, for the soil is more fertile than in the hilly tract in the centre of the district, and there are still extensive areas under forest, which is being cleared away and brought under the plough.

Migration. The most striking features of migration in the Santāl Parganas are firstly, its great volume, and secondly, the strong tendency of the people to move eastwards. There is a strong influx from all the adjoining districts west of a line drawn approximately north and south through the centre of the district (from Sāhibganj to Jāmtārā), *i.e.*, from Bhāgalpur, Monghyr, Hazāribāgh and Mānbhūm, and a still stronger ebb in the direction of all districts east of this line, *viz.*, Purnea, Mālda, Murshidābād, Bīrbhūm and Burdwān. According to the census of 1901, the immigrants from the west exceeded 83,000, while the emigrants to the east numbered close on 117,000. The great migration of the Santāls to this district from the south and west took place during the middle part of the 19th century, and many of the persons shown as immigrants at the last census are probably the survivors of those who took part in this movement. The tribe is still spreading east and north, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santāl Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away in those parts of Dinājpur, Rājshāhi and Bogrā which share with Mālda the elevated tract of quasi-laterite known as the Bārind. Dinājpur alone contains more than 48,000 persons born in the Santāl Parganas, and Rājshāhi and Bogrā more than 8,000. Of emigration to more distant places the most noticeable feature is the exodus to the Assam tea gardens, where more than 31,000 natives of this district were enumerated in 1901, and to Jalpāigurī, where they numbered more than 10,000.

Hitherto the Santāls, in the course of their migration, have avoided alluvial soil in a curious manner, but this may be only fortuitous and due to the fact that hitherto the more broken high country, being sparsely inhabited, has attracted them as giving ample room for expansion combined with a minimum of outside interference. It has also been suggested that their movements have depended on the existence of *sāl* forests and the absence of

restrictions on cutting it down, the *sāl* tree being to the Santāls what the bamboo is to the Bengali.*

The chief reason for their emigration from the district appears to be that they are an extremely prolific race, and that the culturable portion of the jungles in the Santāl Parganas is becoming exhausted. There is therefore not sufficient scope for reclamation, and also the rate of reclamation does not keep pace with the rate of growth of population.

Among non-Santāl immigrants may be mentioned Mārwāris, Bhojpurīs and traders from other parts of Bihār, who have come and settled in the district with their wives and children. The Mārwāris congregate in the towns and do a wholesale business; the profession of the others is money-lending and shop-keeping. In fact, they own almost all the shops in the district, the Bengalis having only a few and the Santāls and Pahārias practically none.

Towns and villages.

Three places were treated as towns at the census of 1901, *viz.*, Madhupur with a population of 6,840, Deoghar (8,838) and Sāhibganj (7,558). Deoghar and Sāhibganj have long been municipalities, and in 1903 a third municipality was created at Dumkā. Madhupur is rising in importance, its climate, scenery and situation on the railway line having attracted well-to-do residents of Calcutta and Government pensioners. Deoghar is popular for the same reason, but its population, according to the census, is practically stationary, having been 8,667 and 8,005 at the two preceding enumerations. There is, however, a large floating population of pilgrims, which vitiates the statistics; and in 1901 there were probably fewer pilgrims owing to the prevalence of plague in India. Sāhibganj is an important mart at the spot where the East Indian Railway Loop Line touches the Ganges. In 1891 it had a population of 11,297, and the low figure recorded at the last census is attributed to the fact that an outbreak of plague had led to the partial evacuation of the town. The rural population for the most part live in small villages, 67 per cent. being found in villages with less than 500 inhabitants, and 27 per cent. in villages with a population of 500 to 2,000.

Occupations.

Agriculture supports 81 per cent. of the population, industries 7 per cent., commerce 0·6 per cent., and the professions 0·8 per cent. Of the agricultural population 44 per cent. are actual workers, and these include 1,300 rent-receivers, 603,000 rent-payers and 42,000 labourers. Of the industrial population, 51 per cent. are actual workers, and these include 5,000 cotton

* E. A. Gait, Bengal Census Report of 1901, p. 139.

weavers, 12,000 potters and 6,000 basket and mat makers. Of the professional classes 39 per cent. are actual workers, including 1,000 priests and the same number of musicians. Among those engaged in other occupations are 25,000 herdsmen and 68,000 general labourers.

LANGUAGES. The district is a polyglot one, for aborigines live more or less side by side with speakers of Aryan languages, and in some parts as many as four languages are spoken by different communities.

Santāli. The main language is Santāli, which is spoken by 649,000 persons. It is a language belonging to the Mundā family, and is remarkably uniform, having been only slightly influenced by the Aryan languages. This influence is mainly confined to the vocabulary, and broadly speaking the structure and general character of the language have remained unchanged. Santāli does not possess a written literature, though traditional legends are current among the people. It has been reduced to writing by European missionaries, and the Roman character is commonly used in writing it. There are two Santāli translations of the New Testament, and the Old Testament has lately been translated by the Revd. P. Bodding. A grammar by the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, published in 1873, is the leading authority on the language.*

The general character of the language may be gathered from a sketch given by Mr. J. M. Macphail in *Santalia*:—"Their language is the most remarkable possession that this people, exceptionally poor in this world's goods, can boast of. It is a triumph of complexity, with moods and tenses all its own, a language which is only to be learned by living among the people who speak it, but which, once learned, is peculiarly expressive and convenient. It is of the agglutinative or compounding class of languages, consisting of roots rather than words, the root serving as substantive or verb, adjective or adverb, according to the necessities of the case. It is very rich in terms for all natural objects and for all things which touch the common life of the people. There are, for instance, more than half-a-dozen verbs in Santāli for our verb "to fall." There is one which means to fall from a standing position, another to fall from a height, another to fall forwards, another to fall backwards, etc. Then there are an equal number of names for rice, according to the various forms in which it is found—seedlings, in the ear, husked rice, boiled rice, etc. But to express spiritual

* G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 30-36.

and ethical ideas and to denote the imports of recent civilization—schools, books, paper, ink, pens, pencils, pins, church, roads (except footpaths), bridges, slate, post, magistrate, taxes, police, etc., words have to be borrowed mainly from Hindi or Hindustani."

There are only two dialects, and even these do not differ much from the standard form of speech. The first is Kārmāli, spoken by a caste of iron smelters in the south of the district, who call themselves Har or men, but are called Kalhas by the Santāls and Kols by Hindus. The second is Māhle or Māhilī, spoken by the Māhilī caste in the centre and south of the district, which is closely related to Kārmāli. Among themselves the Māhilīs use, to some extent, a kind of slang or secret language, substituting peculiar words and expressions for common ones, *e.g.*, *pitis* instead of *paisā* and *lekā* instead of *ānā*. According to the census of 1901, 8,117 persons in this district speak Kārmālī, and 8,643 persons speak Māhilī.*

Bihāri. Bihāri is returned as the language of 13·5 per cent. of the population, the dialect in common use being Maithilī. The Maithilī spoken in this district is influenced more or less by the Magahī spoken in the west and partly also by Bengali. The result is a well marked dialect called the Chhikā-Chhikī Bolī, owing to the frequency with which the word *chhikāi* meaning "he is" and its congeners are used. The Rājmahāl Hills separate the speakers of this dialect from those who speak Bengali, but in the Deoghar subdivision there is a small tract, south and east of the town of Deoghar, where the two vernaculars overlap without combining, Maithilī being spoken by people from Bihār and Bengali by those of Bengal.†

Bengali. Bengali is the language of 13·5 per cent. of the population and is common in the east of the district. There are two varieties in use, *viz.*, Rārhi Boli or the classical Western Bengali, and a broken dialect, called Mālpahāria, which is spoken by the Māl Pahārias.

Malto. Malto is almost exclusively spoken by the Maler or Male Pahārias in the south of the Rājmahāl Hills, from which fact the language is also known as Rājmahāli. It is a Dravidian language, appearing to have a close resemblance to the Kurukh language spoken by Oraons. It is, however, influenced by Aryan tongues, especially in its vocabulary, and there are also traces of the influence of Santāli. It does not possess a literature of its own, but the Psalms, the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles

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* G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 70, 74.
† *Ib.* *ib.* Vol. V, Part II, pp., 13, 95, 104.

have been translated into it, the Roman alphabet being made use of for the purpose. The chief source of information about this language is a grammar published by Revd. E. Droese in 1884. According to the census of 1901, the number of persons speaking the language in the Santāl Parganas was 59,476, besides about 1,000 in other districts, whereas the Maler tribe in this district was returned as having a strength of 47,066. The explanation of this discrepancy is probably either that Rājmahāli, which was classed as Malto, should have been treated in many cases as Bengali, or that the returns for the Maler tribe were incorrect.*

Hindus number 1,015,753 persons or 56·1 per cent. of the population, Animists 632,068 persons or 34·9 per cent., Muhammadans 151,993 or 8·4 per cent., while the number of Christians is 9,875 and of all others 48. The bulk of the Animists are Santāls, barely one-tenth of whom were returned as Hindus at the census of 1901. Not too much reliance, however, can be placed upon the figures, as the difficulty of distinguishing between Hindus and Animists in the case of aboriginals or people of aboriginal descent is well known, and much depends on the idiosyncracies of the census staff. There have, in fact, been considerable variations at each census as shown in the margin, from which, however, it will be seen that the number of Hindus has steadily increased. One of the features of the movement inaugurated during recent years by the Kharwārs or Santāl revivalists has been a leaning towards Hinduism, and it is only rarely that a reaction sets in. Such a reaction was noticed in 1901, when the women broke their lac bangles and took once more to home-made cloth instead of imported goods. The majority of the Muhammadans are believed to be descendants of low class converts made during the period of Mughal rule, and many of them can with difficulty be distinguished from the Hinduized aboriginals with whom they live side by side. RELIGIONS.

Animists.	Hindus.
528,899	650,210
605,523	847,309
726,284	900,820
632,068	1,015,753

The number of Christians in the district, as enumerated at each census, was 392 in 1872, 3,056 in 1881, 5,943 in 1891 and 9,875 in 1901. Of these 9,875 Christians, 9,463 were natives, including 7,064 Santāls, and they were distributed among the different subdivisions as shown in the margin. The Christian Missions.

Dumkā ...	3,773
Pākaur ..	2,298
Rājmahāl ..	1,898
Jāmtārā ...	664
Goddā ...	631
Deoghar ...	611

* G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 446-7.

returns of the missionaries themselves do not agree with the census figures, showing much larger numbers—a discrepancy which may perhaps be explained by emigration.

The Church Missionary Society is at work in the Goddā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl subdivisions, and has also established a colony for its converts in the Western Duārs. Work was begun in 1862, the first missionaries being the Revd. E. L. Puxley and the Revd. W. T. Storrs. There are now four stations, the centres of evangelistic, educational and medical work, at Taljhari and Barharwā in the Rājmahāl subdivision, and at Pathrā and Bhagya in the Goddā subdivision.

The Scandinavian Lutheran Mission has been established in the Dumkā subdivision for over 40 years, work being started in 1867 by the Revd. H. P. Boerresen, a Dane, and by the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, a Norwegian, whose Santāli grammar is the chief authority on the language. The Mission is also known as the Indian Home Mission to the Santāls, because it was the intention of the founders to raise in India all the funds required for its support. It has twenty stations, the largest being at Benagharia, and also a colony in Assam, where it owns a tea garden. It has taken over an independent mission started in the Jāmtārā subdivision by the late Mr. Haegert, who had his headquarters at a station called Bethel, and established two branches of his mission in the Dumkā subdivision, one at Maharu about 5 miles west of Dumkā and the other at Dharampur near Kumrābād, 8 miles south of Dumkā.

Other missions are the Christian Women's Board of Missions, a Wesleyan Mission, which has established itself in the Deoghar subdivision, and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, which started work in the Pākaur subdivision under the Revd. J. P. Meik in 1884. The converts of the latter are mostly Hindus and Muhammadans, very few being Santāls. It maintains a boarding school with an industrial branch, at which boys and girls are taught poultry-keeping, gardening, fruit-farming and carpentry. The Plymouth Brethren have stations at Jāmtārā, Karmatānr and Mihijām, and the Christian Disciples at Deoghar.

TRIBES AND CASTES. Ethnologically the Santāl Parganas are one of the most interesting districts of Bengal owing to the variety of races found in it, for two-fifths of the total population is purely aboriginal, one-fifth is semi-aboriginal, three-tenths belong to Hindu caste and one-tenth are Muhammadans. Generally speaking, the hilly country is inhabited mainly by Santāls, Pahārias and other aboriginal tribes; the undulating region by semi-aboriginal races, with a smaller proportion of aborigines and a fair sprinkling of Aryan

settlers; and the alluvial strip of country almost entirely by Aryans.

The earliest settlers in the district are believed to be the Pahārias, one branch of whom, *viz.*, the Maler, has been identified with the people called Malli by Megasthenes. This race found a refuge in the Rājmahāl Hills, and there they have to this day retained their peculiar customs. The other branch of the tribe, the Māl Pahārias, who are found in the south and west, has become Hinduized, and, unlike the Maler, they have no distinct language. Other early occupants of the district were the Bhuiyās, who held the forest tracts and passes, and owned allegiance to the Khetauris or Katauris. The latter seem to have had their chief seat at Kharagpur in the south of the Monghyr district, and to have exercised supermacy in the south of Bhāgalpur and the north of this district until they were overcome by Rājput adventurers from the north of India, who founded the Kharagpur Rāj and subsequently became Muhammadans. Regarding the relations of these Khetauris and Bhuiyās, Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., writes:—"Katauri domination was confined to the region west of the hills, and the Bhuiyās were the aborigines of the forest tracts, over whom the Katauris exercised sway, and to whom they were closely related by blood and intermarriage. The Katauris had possession of the more open country to the north, the Bhuiyās held the forest tracts as *ghātwāls* under the Katauris. . . . . The Bhuiyās belong to the same Dravidian stock as the hill Maler. They have lost their Dravidian tongue and have taken on a veneer of Hinduism. Their chiefs make the usual Kshattriya pretensions and calling themselves Sūrjyabansis disclaim connection with their Bhuiyā kinsmen. But the physical characteristics of all are alike Dravidian, and in Captain Browne's time (1772-78) the chiefs never thought of claiming to be other than Bhuiyā. The highest chiefs of the Bhuiyās are called Tikaits and are supposed to have received the mark of royalty. Inferior chiefs are called Thākurs, and the younger members of noble Bhuiyā families are called Bābus. Wealth and position do not always coincide with birth. The head of the Lakshmīpur family, for example, is a Thākur, while the Patrol *ghātwāl*, a much less considerable person, is a Tikait."

The number of Khetauris at the census of 1901 was returned as only 1,431, but the similarity of the name (which is also spelt Khetari or Kheturi) with Kshattriya and the claim of the Khetauris to be Kshattriya have, it is believed, led to them being regarded as Rājputs in many cases. Mr. W. B. Oldham, indeed, who has made a special study of them, estimates their number at

30,000. The Bhuiyās, on the other hand, have a strength of 119,059, and are found mainly in the upland country to the west of the hills in the Dumkā, Goddā and Deoghar subdivisions.

The following table shows the numerical strength (according to the census of 1901) of the different castes and tribes exceeding 10,000, classified under four heads, *viz.*, Hindus, Aborigines, Semi-aborigines and Muhammadans:—

	Number.	Proportion.
Hindus.		
(*a*) High castes—		
Rājput	42,191	2·4
Brāhman ...	34,136	1·9
Others	13,153	0·7
Total ...	89,480	5·0
(*b*) Pastoral and agricultural castes—		
Ahīr and Goālā ...	108,689	6·0
Kahār and Beharā ...	18,101	1·0
Kurmī	16,700	0·9
Dhānuk	14,708	0·8
Koiri	14,464	0·8
Others	10,752	0·6
Total ...	183,420	10·1
(*c*) Trading and industrial castes—		
Teli and Kalu ...	42,873	2·4
Kalwār and Sunri ...	33,193	1·8
Kumhār	27,473	1·5
Kāmār and Lohār ...	24,407	1·3
Weaving castes ...	21,110	1·2
Hajjām and Nāpit ...	17,867	1·0
Halwai, Mayara and Kāndu.	16,915	0·9
General traders (Baniyā, etc.).	14,443	0·8
Fishing castes ...	10,566	0·6
Others	24,622	1·4
Total ...	233,469	12·9

	Number.	Proportion.
Aborigines.		
Santāl	663,471	36·6
Maler(Sauriā Pahāria)	47,066	2·6
Māl Pahāria ...	25,628	1·4
Others	12,606	0·7
Total ...	748,771	41·3
Semi-aborigines.		
Bhuiyā (including Ghātwāl).	127,124	7·0
Dom	44,546	2·5
Chamār and Muchi...	35,543	1·9
Musahar ...	28,432	1·6
Bauri	23,069	1·3
Chain	20,031	1·1
Mahili	15,862	0·9
Dosādh ...	12,109	0·7
Rājwār ...	12,107	0·6
Hāri and Mehtar ...	10,985	0·6
Others ...	40,541	2·2
Total ...	369,419	20·5
Muhammadans.		
Sheikh ...	77,425	4·3
Jolāhā ...	62,764	3·5
Others	11,804	0·6
Total ...	151,993	8·3

From this table it will be seen that the Santāls are the predominant race in the district. They are comparatively newcomers, not being found in the district till the end of the 18th century. Since then, however, one body after another has poured into the district, until they are now found in all parts of it, being most numerous in the Dāmin-i-koh, where they account for

nearly two-thirds of the population, and least numerous in the Deoghar subdivision, where, however, they account for one-fifth of the inhabitants and are more numerous than any other caste or tribe. An account of them will be given in the next chapter. In this chapter it is proposed only to give an account of the Pahārias, a race peculiar to this district.

The Pahārias are divided into two branches :—(1) the Maler, also known as the Male Pahārias or Sauriā Pahārias, who are found in the north of the Rājmahāl Hills, and (2) the Māl Pahārias, who are found in the south of the hills and also in the hilly and wooded country in the south and west of the district. The word Maler is generally written Mâler, but it is written Maler both by Mr. W. B. Oldham, who made a special study of them and by the Revd. E. Droese, whose grammar is the chief authority on their (Malto) language; and that spelling will therefore be adopted. The name is said to be simply the plural of Male, meaning "he is a man," but another theory is that the name is derived from the common Dravidian word Mala, meaning mountain, so that the original meaning of the name would be hillmen. The origin of the name Sauria is doubtful; it has been suggested that it originates in the term Savāla Pahār being applied by Hindus to the Rājmahāl Hills. The Santāls call the Maler Mundas, and the Hindus call them simply Pahārias. PAHĀRIAS.

A clue to their origin is found in the tradition of the Oraons that their original home was in the Carnatic, whence they went up the Narbada river and settled in Bihār on the banks of the Son. Driven thence by the Muhammadans, the tribe split into two divisions. One of these, now represented by the Oraons, ascended the Son into Palāmau, and, turning eastward along the Koel, took possession of the north-western portion of Chotā Nāgpur. The other branch, following the course of the Ganges, settled in the Rājmahāl Hills and were the progenitors of the Maler. In these hills, hemmed in by the Ganges on the north and east, and shut off from the outer world by thick forest on the south and west, the Maler have remained almost untouched by outside influences to this day. They have no characteristic of language in common with the races which surround them, from which too they differ in physiognomy, in their social habits, in the way of forming their villages and houses, and in their methods of cultivation.

The Maler are now inhabitants of the northern portion of the Dāmin-i-koh, where they occupy the hillsides and tops of the hills, having been driven from the richer valleys by the more enterprising and industrious Santāls. They live in village Maler.

communities, each of which claims as its property certain hills, the boundaries of which are not well defined. Some of their villages contain 40 or 50 houses, but the majority are small, seldom containing more than ten houses. Each village has a headman or *mānjhi*, who is ordinarily a stipendiary, receiving an allowance of Rs. 2 a month from Government. Besides these, there are headmen called *tikri mānjhis* or *tikridārs*, who hold either areas in the stipendiary villages with a sort of under-headman's rights or independent areas in which they exercise all a headman's rights. Such areas are called *tikris* (possibly from the Hindī *tikri*, a patch of poor soil) and appear to originate in the *tikridārs* taking possession of portions of a hill and clearing them with their own labour or with the aid of other ryots. All the village communities fall within recognized divisions presided over by chiefs called *sardārs*, under whom are sub-chiefs called *naibs*. In some ways they correspond to the Santāl *parganaits* and *des-mānjhis* respectively, but they are stipendiaries of Government receiving a monthly allowance, in return for which they have to report criminal offences and vital statistics. The *sardārs* claim to hold all the villages subject to them, and the hills pertaining to those villages, as their own free property, subject only to the villagers' own rights. They claim and receive both a fixed yearly due and also a portion of the produce or profit derived by the villagers from the hills.

The Maler support themselves by the *jhūm* or *kurāo* method of cultivation, *i.e.*, a patch of land is cleared with axe and fire, the soil is hoed and seeds are dibbled in among the ashes, the site thus cleared and cultivated being known as a *jhūm* or *kurāo*. The process is repeated at intervals of five years, with the result that in some long ranges practicaly all vegetation has disappeared for miles, the slopes looking as if they had been scoured by land-slips. The Maler supplement their crops by the products of the chase, but they are not expert archers or hunters.

Physical characteristics.

The Maler is short of stature and slight of make, with limbs long in proportion to his low stature. His complexion is a light brown; his nose is not prominent but flat and broad at the base: and his eyes have the peculiar beady look of the Dravidian. His hair is long and ringleted, and he keeps it well oiled and combed in a knot on the top of his head. According to Sir Herbert Risley, "in respect of physical characteristics the Maler represent the extreme type of the Dravidian race as we find it in Bengal. The nasal index measured on 100 men of the tribe yields an average of 94·5, which closely approaches the proportions ascertained for the Negro."

Their general manner of life has been well described by Captain Sherwill, who wrote:—"The hill-man is much shorter than the Sonthāl, of a much slighter make, is beardless or nearly so, is not of such a cheerful disposition, nor is he so industrious; his great delight appears to be attending the neighbouring markets, where, decked out with beads and chains, his hair fastidiously combed, oiled and ornamented, he will, in company with his friends both male and female, while away the greater part of the day. Labour is the hill-man's abhorrence, but necessity compels him to cultivate a small portion of the land for his actual existence; beyond this trifling labour he never exerts himself. He will nevertheless fish, or hunt or roam over miles of the forest searching for honey-combs, wild yams and other edible roots; he will travel many miles to get a shot at a deer or to secure a peacock. Such labour he considers in the light of amusement, but to have to clear away the forest for his crop he considers a great hardship; but clear it he must, and the hill-man generally chooses the most precipitous hillsides as the ground best fitted for his crops. In these spots an iron-shod staff or a pointed stick hardened by charring is used instead of the plough. With this implement holes are made in the soil at the distance of a foot or less from each other, into which are dropped a mixture of the following seeds, Indian corn, junera, bora beans and the seeds of several small pulses. The tall and robust Indian-corn and junera form an ample support to the twining bora bean, which in its turn affords a beneficial shade to the more delicate pulses at its feet. The heads of the Indian-corn when ripe are stocked in bamboo granaries of various shapes, and which are raised off the ground on posts; whilst those required for immediate use are strung up to the roof of the huts, and as required for food are submitted to the operation of being husked in a wooden mortar; of the meal of this grain a thick and nutritious pasty-pudding is made, which forms the principal food of the hill people. The junera is treated in the same way, but the bora bean, kam ruhur and pulses are beaten out either by rubbing with the hand or by beating them on a log of wood." The Maler do not confine themselves to this vegetarian fare. They eat beef, pork, domestic fowls and all kinds of fish, and indulge freely in strong drink.

Manner of life.

They are, on the whole, lazy and poor. "Abject poverty is no misnomer among the Saorias of to-day; six annas has to suffice many a family for victuals over eight weary days. Thriftless to a degree the Saoria garners but to squander at a festival, or to become the fortunate possessor of a godling. Superstition, and its handmaid Imagination, mould him at will, and in the

grove or the tree he beholds with terror the Jampori (Demno ghost) and invests the inexplicable power of the railway train with a capacity for compassing the direst evil. He ascribes an epidemic of small-pox or cholera to the advent of inimical spirits by railway. He exorcises them by constructing a rude model of a train, wheels it through the village, and into the jungle, and desires the invisible passengers to journey onwards. Such is the Saoria of to-day, and such has he been for countless generations."* They have five territorial divisions, viz., Parte in the centre of the hill tract, Mandro on the north, Pubbi on the east, Chetteh on the east from Tinpahār, and Dakrni on the south and in the Pākaur subdivision. There is no prohibition of intermarriage among these divisions. The dormitory system prevails, *i.e.*, the marriageable girls have a house to themselves and the youths another. Sexual license, though prohibited in theory, is tolerated in practice; feasts and religious festivals end in riotous indulgence. Social affairs are regulated by a village *panchāyat* composed, according to old custom, of the Sinyare or village headman, the Bandāri or village messenger, the Kotwāri, who is an executive official, and the Giri, who is an influential villager. The Bandāri performs certain duties on ceremonial occasions, such as marriages and burials; and either he or the Demno (*i.e.*, the diviner) preaches at ceremonies and festivals, exhorting the younger generation to observe the tribal customs and code of morals.

Religion. The following account of certain customs of the Maler is taken from *the Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, by Mr. R. B. Bainbridge (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 4), to which the reader is referred for further details. An interesting account will also be found in Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, but this account was based mainly on a monograph by Lieutenant Shaw published in the Asiatic Researches of 1795. The information contained in the latter was obtained by Lieutenant Shaw from members of the corps of Hill Rangers at Bhāgalpur and was apparently not verified locally. Colonel Dalton himself, it is plain, did not trust the monograph entirely, for he states that his account of the Pahāria doctrines and ethics is an abstract of that communicated to Lieutenant Shaw by a *Subahdār*, who had been a *protegé* of Mr. Cleveland, and had received some education from him. He adds—"I suspect the *Subahdār* was himself the 'Manu' of his tribe, and that many of his precepts were inspired by his patron."

* R. B. Bainbridge, *The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. II, No. 4, 1907.

The religion of the Maler is animism of the type common among Dravidian tribes. The deities worshipped by them are—Ber or Beru Gosain, Bilp Gosain, Laihu Gosain, Darmāre Gosain, Jārmātre Gosain. These gods are not represented by idols; no special form of worship is prescribed; there is no special day fixed for their worship. They have no priests, and sacrifices are not offered to them except when the godlings of the Sauriā pantheon are worshipped. Laihu, Darmāre and Jārmātre Gosain* are invisible: the representations of Ber Gosain and Bilp Gosain are seen in the heavens as the sun and the moon. Jārmātre and Darmāre Gosains, although separate deities, are regarded as attributes of Laihu Gosain. These gods are invoked at all ceremonies. They have power to benefit cultivation and also the public health, and they possess much greater power than the godlings. There are 23 godlings, besides several devils and evil spirits who have to be duly propitiated. Among the latter may be mentioned the Jampori *i.e.*, the spirit of a dead Demno or diviner, which haunts and kills pregnant women.

As an example of the mode of worship of godlings the following is quoted:—"In the case of illness should the Demno or Charri Beddu advise a *puja* to Gumo Naddu, the householder takes rice and water and sprinkles them on the patient and in his house, saying: "If recovery takes place, I will sacrifice to thee, O Gumo Gosain." The year having gone by, the date and name of the Tallu Beddu are ascertained and *pochai* is made ready. Two *sāl* trees† are selected and the Tallu kills a fowl and sprinkles them with the blood. He then paints them with *sindur* and offers rice, *pochai* and *patki taddi* (*dāru*). After this the trees are felled and the bark is taken off. They are then carried and placed in front of the householder's dwelling in line on the ground. The height of the house is measured while the Demno starts his incantations. When the poles are ready, the Demno gets astride of them and he is carried round the house five times. Before taking him round, however, his body is covered with the red ants found on mango trees, in order to ascertain whether the spirit has really entered, or whether the Demno is shamming! The bite of this large red ant is excruciating! The poles are then taken inside the dwelling, and fixed to, and lashed side by side with, the central post of the house on the south.‡

* Laihu Gosain = the Creator. Darmāre Gosain = Divinity of Truth, etc. Jārmātre = Divinity of Birth.

† One tree for the wife and the other tree for the husband.

‡ The Gumo Gosain *puja* takes place in February and March.

A mud altar is erected and *sindur* is applied thereon. Offerings of rice and *makai* are scattered and *dāru* is sprinkled. The Demno does not allow the liquor to be wasted; he also eats the offerings in his excitement, saying "The god comes from this path," and other matters. Then the goat is brought and its head is taken off, the Demno drinking the blood as usual from the severed neck. This finishes the *puja*, and the feasting and carousals begin. Men and women dance together, and the festival ends in a licentious orgie."

The performance of *pujas* is a frequent occurrence. "*Pujas*," writes Mr. Bainbridge, "are offered on the village path to models of trains, umbrellas, elephants with three constables and two *mahauts* armed with swords and guns, also to leopards and tigers. When a *puja* is necessary, models of these are made and the ceremony takes place on the pathway leading to the village. In case of illness sometimes the Demno fixes upon a train after consulting the oracles. He says: "Many devils have come into the village by train: make offerings and cast them out." In the case of the elephant, constables and *mahauts*, the same thing is done. Leopards and tigers are propitiated, and *pujas* are offered to prevent them from entering the village. *Puja* to the umbrella is also offered in the case of sickness. These ceremonies may take place during the course of an illness, and they are performed immediately, except in the case of the umbrella as more elaborate arrangements are required, and the ceremony ends with a dance. Small-pox and cholera epidemics are often ascribed to the advent of many devils by train. The elephant is also able to bring a number of devils, and it is said to be wise to sacrifice to them. These devils are not described, and the models of the train and elephant are thrown in the place indicated by the Demno, or by one of the village women who is in the habit of being possessed by Gurya Gosain".

Marriage. A girl may not marry her brother, or any near blood relatives; she may, however, marry her fourth cousin. A man may marry an elder sister and a younger sister, but not a younger sister and then an elder sister. He may marry five or six wives, and may even marry five or six sisters provided the eldest sister be willing. The first wife is the chief wife, and all others are her subordinates. All the household property is considered to be under her charge; the servants (if any) are under her orders. Her sons succeed to a third share of the father's property; the balance goes to the other wives and their children. In case of illness or absence of the first wife, the second wife occupies her place and is vested with her privileges. The

wives all live in the same house. At night the husband sleeps in the centre, and the wives occupy beds on either side. In case of his having intercourse with a younger wife, without the consent of the elder wife, the husband is liable, on complaint, to a fine according to circumstances; for the first offence a warning is administered. A man may keep as many concubines as he can afford besides wives, but can only do so with the consent of the chief wife and the girls themselves.

Marriage between first cousins and second cousins is not allowed. When an intrigue betweem them is suspected, a *panchāyat* is called, and, on satisfactory proof of the offence, two fowls (not capons) and two pigs are taken from the guilty parties. They are slaughtered and the blood is sprinkled with water at all the houses in the village by the Bandāri. Salt is then brought by the Bandāri and mixed with water in a leaf in the presence of the *panchāyat*. The Bandāri then says: "If you two come together again, you will die within five days of the connection. You are henceforth separate. O Gosain! these two are henceforth separate; if they come together again, destroy them within five days." The salt is placed on the leaf with the point of a sword or knife, or with the claw of a tiger or leopard. The offenders are made to drink the mixture by the Bandāri. As the delinquents get up to go, the Bandāri tears two *sāl* leaves, one for each offender, repeating the curse. The girl and her parents keep the offspring of such a union. If a boy, he is admitted into caste without any special ceremonies, but until marriage he is not allowed to eat at *pujas* performed by the village. After marriage he is allowed to do so, if he gives a feast to the village. In the case of a girl, she takes her place with other women after marriage, but her husband has to feast the villagers.

If a younger sister's husband and an elder sister have a *liaison*, the man is fined Rs. 20 and is outcasted; the woman has her head shaved and painted with saffron and lime, and she is taken all round the village by the Bandāri and made a public spectacle. The offenders are also told to go away and die in the jungle. If they have obtained property and a fresh household godling, they are readmitted to caste, after giving a feast to the village. The woman does not desert her lover, for the payment of Rs. 20 expiates the sin so far as she is concerned. This money is spent in a feast, at which the liver of a pig is broiled, offered with *patki taddi* (*dāru*) to the ancestors of the offenders with the words:—"Grant, O ancestors, that this sin be not put to the account of the village, but to the account of the

offenders themselves." The liver and liquor are disposed of by the *panchāyat*.

There is nothing to prevent a Sauriā from marrying a woman of another caste. This cannot be done according to old custom, but in practice the man and woman are admitted to caste by means of the usual feast. When they die, however, they are not buried in the Pahāria cemetery until Re. 1 has been paid for each of them to the village headman. This sum is termed *bewah koreh* (*bewah*, offering at a *puja*, and *koreh*, together). The children of such unions are Sauriās, are subject to no fines and penalties, and pay nothing to be buried in the village graveyard.

Funeral ceremonies.

The following account of the funeral ceremonies of the Maler is given by Mr. Bainbridge:—"The dead are buried; the ancient custom is interment. After death the corpse is washed and oiled by the relatives. It is then clothed in its best apparel, *sindur* is placed on the forehead and chest, one line down the nose and one line down the chest. Bows, arrows, all personal property, are brought and placed with the corpse. In the case of a woman, all her jewellery is put with the corpse; only one article belonging to the deceased is retained and produced on days of festival and *pujas* as a 'souvenir.' After this, the corpse is carried outside the house, and placed with its head towards the west, the feet being towards the east. Before taking the corpse outside, grain is scattered within and without the house, and, as a rule, the path taken by the corpse to the graveyard has grain scattered along its length for some distance. There is general lamentation. The corpse is carried by four individuals, relatives or others. A fowl is killed and is cooked with *makai* (Indian corn) and put in an earthen plate. On the way to the graveyard the *khatia* (bed) is placed on the ground, and all the relatives have one last look. From this point all the women-folk return. On reaching the graveyard, the grave is dug in depth to the height of an ordinary man, the bottom of the grave is laid out with poles and leaves, and the corpse is taken off the *khatia* and placed at the bottom of the grave on the poles and leaves. Then one of the relatives takes two leaves of the *bhelua* plant (*Semecarpus anacardium*) and places them over the face of the corpse. Poles are then driven in horizontally about half-way up the grave so as to make a platform over the dead body. After this the grave is filled in. The corpse is rifled of its jewellery and brass plates by the bearers. All the clothes of the corpse are torn in pieces and buried with the body. The grave finally has stones put on the top, and the cooked *makai* and fowl are placed at the four corners of the grave, saying: 'This is for you, O son, or

wife; may your ancestors eat this and keep you in safety with them.' The party then bathes and returns home.

"A corpse is buried on the day of death. Arrows and bows, sticks and bead necklaces are buried; articles of real value are brought way. The grave is dug east and west, and the body is placed with its head to the west. No prayers or *mantras* are repeated and the Demno is not required to be present. All articles taken away by the bearers are sold, and a *khassi* (goat) is bought by them with the proceeds and eaten.

"When the bearers return they receive a bull, cow, goat, pig or fowl, according to circumstances. The animal is killed outside the village, and cooked rice is provided by the relatives of the deceased. The party eats, and, after eating, the leaves used as plates are collected by the Bandâri, who place a wattle screen thereon; he then sits on it with two other persons—five persons may sit but not more; everyone is brought forward and asked: 'What claims have you against the deceased and what suspicions have you regarding his death?' Claims not put forward at this time receive no recognition afterwards. Suspicion as regards witchcraft, or death by poison, also must be put forward at this time. This being done, the Bandāri collects the leaf plates and carries them, with the receptacle in which they are carried, and places them on the spot where the dead body was put down in order to enable the relations to have a last look. There are no ceremonies in respect of purification in the case of death. Death does not render the relatives unclean. During five days the near relatives of the deceased abstain from eating food cooked with oil and turmeric. After five days an animal is killed on behalf of the deceased within the village. The same day the bearers kill the animal purchased by them with the proceeds of property taken from the deceased. This animal is killed, cooked and eaten by them outside the village; the bearers and relatives and all the villagers, women and children, sit outside their houses, and *makai* rice and meat are given in *bhelua* leaves to everybody. *Pochai* is also given. Before feasting, some broiled liver, *pochai* and *makai* rice are placed by all the guests at the spot where the body was first laid down. These things are placed in *bhelua* leaves, and the relatives take precedence in making the offering. The deceased is called upon by name to accept the offerings made, and he is told of all that has been done for him; then everyone begins the feast. After this the elders sit and repeat a homily to the relatives, which may be translated as follows: 'Be not sorrowful, his days are ended and he has now been taken by the Laihu Gosain (Maker).' After the lapse of a year invitations

to another feast are sent to all relatives, and these relatives bring offerings of rice and *pochai*.

"The Charri Beddu ties a stone to a string, or balances a bow, and sits facing the east, holding the string and the stone suspended. He says, 'O Ber Gosain, in whose name shall the drums be beaten to please the deceased?' Names are repeated until the pendulum or bow oscillates. The drums are beaten, according to the measure for this ceremony, by the individual thus selected. The Charri Beddu then asks: 'Who shall kill the goat to please thee, O deceased Rāma?' The name being ascertained, the Demno, who is present, is given some *pochai* inside the house, and he comes outside and everyone follows him. Straw is placed for him and he sits thereon. He takes a quantity in his hands. He washes his feet and hands, and then sits and calls to the deceased waving the straw in his hands: 'Oh come, these things are for thee; come, oh come! By the godlings and demons, by the rocks and the jungles, by all the powers of darkness and light, come, O Rāma, come to the feast provided for thee,' etc. This incantation has to be seen; it is indescribable. The Demno becomes more and more excited, his limbs tremble and his voice comes from him in gasps and yells until, on a sudden, he says: 'I am here! I am Rāma!!' Then his relatives fall on him, and, weeping and laughing, dress him in saffron-stained garments. The Demno asks for things required by him, brass plates, and money too, if he has taken the trouble beforehand to find out where it is hidden. He says, 'O mother where is my *thallia*, or money: bring it, mother. I and my ancestors are very poor, and I wish to take it with me; bring me so and so, father or aunt or sister!' Everything desired is given without suspicion. He also asks for food, and a quantity of each of the different kinds of food provided is heaped on a plate, and placed in the Demno's hands; being Rāma, he eats and drinks and throws pieces of food over his shoulders to his deceased relatives calling them by name! While he is eating, the goat is killed and some of the blood is sprinkled over the food; while the blood is being sprinkled, the Demno seizes the goat, and, placing his mouth to the severed neck, drinks the blood. He also eats the mixture in his plate. The deceased's relatives have all placed something in the plate according to request, or, according to their own wishes. The Demno's mouth and face are smeared with blood. He yells and groans: he is truly an appalling spectacle!

"The opportunity is taken by the deceased's relatives to ask questions as to why he left them, etc., etc., and these are answered according to the ingenuity of the Demno, or they are met by

requests for articles! Menstruating females are not permitted to feed the Demno. Having satiated himself with blood, the Demno says: 'I am now going back, I have eaten and drunken, and I am going back to Ber Gosain or Laihu Gosain'. Saying this, he falls down in a fit, rigid, and, to all intents and purposes, dead! Water is then poured over him and uncooked rice is thrown on him. This brings him back to consciousness. He then takes water, and, after striking the near relatives with his matted locks, he sprinkles the water on the assembled crowd, saying: 'All sins are washed away.' He now throws away the straw. The articles collected by him, while personating the deceased, become his own property. Having been given to the deceased, at his own request, no one dares to touch them except the Demno and his personal companions. All parties then adjourn to the feast, which lasts all night to the beating of drums. Dances are given by the girls and men, and the feast lasts as long as the *pochai* and food hold out. Before the guests leave, the nearest male relatives of the deceased on the father's and mother's side offer a piece of broiled liver and *pochai* and rice to Ber Gosain, saying: 'Let not such a feast be given again in his house, let such feasts be given again only on occasions of rejoicing and festival!' This ceremony is called *amte* (Malto), and *bhauj*, farewell (Hindi). Then the relatives and guests give money or other gifts to their hosts; and the hosts present two pigs or more to their guests. These are shot with arrows, and, after being cut up, the guests divide the meat, leaving one share to the hosts, and then take their departure after a general shaking of hands in the English fashion: the shaking of the right hand is a very old custom amongst men and women.

"These ceremonies apply to men, females and boys, but not to infants unable to speak. Such infants are buried outside the regular graveyard, and the bearers, before re-entering the village, are sprinked with water by the Bandāri. He also breaks an egg by casting it into the jungle, saying: 'May the disease which killed the child not attack the villagers.' A man or woman dying of small-pox is not buried. The body is covered with thorns, or wood, and left in the jungle in a hole! The five days' ceremony does not take place. When the village is free from disease, the feast and rejoicings described above take place. In such cases only clothes go with the corpse; and on the *amte* day the bearers get an extra share of the feast. In cholera the same customs are followed and the village is under taboo. In neither case is the corpse placed on the ground for a last view on its way to the jungle. In case of death by accident or snake-bite the

usual ceremony is observed. In case of death by tigers, or other wild animals, the same customs are followed if the body is found; if not, the usual feast takes place after the lapse of a year.

"The Pahārias do not employ Brahmans or Hindus as priests. In the case of a Pahāria suffering capital punishment, or dying in a far country, the *bhauj* always takes place. The Simlong (Pākaur) and Chandana (Goddā) Pahārias burn their dead sometimes, but this is comparatively a new custom. It is inaccurate to say that the Demno is not buried. He is buried except when he dies without relatives; but anyone dying without relatives is left in the jungle. In the case of a chief a house is built over the grave, but this house is not repaired and gradually disappears. On the horizontal stakes at the bottom of the grave, *bhelua* or *sāl* leaves are laid, and the corpse is placed thereon. In some cases the whole corpse is covered with leaves."

Māl Pahārias.

The Māl Pahārias are a Hinduized section of the tribe, and differ in many respects from the Maler. They have the same slender build, but are darker, and also dirtier. They cut their hair short, and some of them are taller and more robust than the Maler. Not only have they taken on a veneer of Hinduism, but they have adopted the language of their Aryan neighbours, speaking a corrupt form of Bengali. They are also far more advanced in their methods of cultivation, for they have learned to cultivate with the plough. They still *jhūm*, however, in the South Pākaur and South Goddā portions of the Dāmin-i-koh; in the Dumkā Dāmin the practice has been stopped for many years by the Forest Department. Like the Maler, they cultivate the hill summits, but these often consist of miniature tablelands, especially in the south and south-western ranges: it is surprising what an amount of level surface one finds on them after climbing the steep hillsides.

They now regard the Maler as barbarians, contemptuously calling them Chet (a corruption of the Hindī *Chit* meaning supine), while one branch arrogates for itself the title of Kumārbhāg, *i.e.*, the princely race, and claims kinship with the Rājput family of Sultānābād. There appears to be little doubt however, of their common origin, and in Kunwarpal, which is, the wildest and least accessible part of the Dāmin-i-koh, they assimilate in polity and mode of cultivation more to the Maler in the north than to their brethren elsewhere in the district. Here also they prefer to speak the Maler tongue instead of the dialect used by the Māl Pahārias of the south and west. In fact, in this *tappa*, which lies on the boundary between the two sections of the Pahārias, they are said to be undistinguishable from the

Maler in language, habits and appearance. Here the Santāls have generally gained access to the higher valleys, where they cultivate the rich deep soil with the plough, while the Māl Pahārias seem to have clung to the steep hillsides with their *jhūms*, though they also use the plough in the flatter portions of the hill tops. Outside the Dāmin-i-koh, in the south-west of the district and in the Deoghar subdivision the Māl Pahārias prefer to call themselves Naiyā (or the reformed race) and Pujahar (or worshippers). In this part of the district they form the chief labouring class, but many of them have small agricultural holdings, and they often hold the post of village watchman. Their cultivation in the plains differs in no respect from that of their neighbours, though they are still addicted to *jhūming*, which they call *kuruābāri*, if they get an opportunity.

Regarding the different social characteristics of the Māl Pahārias, the following remarks of Mr. W. B. Oldham are of interest:—"It is only in Kunwarpal, where they stand alone in their hills, preserving, remnant though they are, much the same position as when they were a comparatively powerful race and first embraced Hinduism, that the Māls maintain a position at all proportionate to their claims to caste. In the plains, where they are dominated by their more Aryan and more purely Hindu neighbours, they retain only the titles which connect them with a royal race, and are otherwise among the lowest of the low. In the Deoghar subdivision they are called Pujahars and Naiyās; the former, I believe, merely a nickname evoked by the novelty of a jungle race being seen to perform Hindu worship; and the latter designating them, in distinction from their old demon-worship, as followers of a new creed."*

The following account of the religion, funeral and marriage customs of the Māl Pahārias is quoted from Sir Herbert Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*:—"At the head of the Pahāria religion stands the sun, to whom reverential obeisance is made morning and evening. On occasional Sundays a special worship is performed by the head of the family, who must prepare himself for the rite by eating no salt on the previous Friday and fasting all Saturday, with the exception of a light meal of molasses and milk, taken at sunset after bathing. Before sunrise on Sunday morning a new earthen vessel, a new basket, some rice, oil, areca nuts and vermilion, and a brass *lotā* of water with a mango branch stuck in it, are laid out on a clean space of ground in front of the house. The worshipper shows these offerings to the Religion.

* *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District.*

rising sun and prays, addressing the luminary as 'Gosain,' that he and his family may be saved from any specific danger or trouble that is supposed to threaten them. The rice is then given to a goat, which is decapitated while eating by a single blow from behind. The body of the animal is then cooked and served up at a feast, of which the neighbours partake; the head alone, which is deemed *prasād*, or sacred, being carefully reserved for the members of the family.

"Next in honour to the sun are Dharti Māi, mother earth; her servant, or as some say sister, Garāmi; and Singhbāhini, who bears rule over tigers, snakes, scorpions and all manner of noxious beasts. To the earth goats, pigs, fowls, etc., are offered in Asārh and Māgh, and buffaloes or goats are sacrificed about the time of the Hindu Durgā Pūjā to the goddess Singhbāhini, who is represented for sacrificial purposes by a lump of clay daubed with vermilion and oil and set up in front of the worshipper's house. The village *mānjhi* officiates as priest. The Māgh worship of Dharti Māi is clearly the festival described by Colonel Dalton under the name Bhuindeb, the earth god.* The Māls plant in their dancing place two branches of the *sāl* tree, and for three days they dance round these branches, after which they are removed and thrown into a river, which reminds one of the Karma festivals as solemnized by the Oraons and Kols in Chotā Nāgpur. On this occasion the men and women dance *vis-á-vis* to each other, the musicians keeping between. The men dance holding each other above their elbows, the left hand of one holding the right elbow of the other, whose right hand again holds the left elbow of the arm that has seized him. The fore-arms touching are held stiffly out and swayed up and down. They move sideways, advance and retire, sometimes bending low, sometimes erect. The women hold each other by the palms, interlacing the fingers, left palm upon right palm, and left and right fore-arms touching. They move like the men.

"Two curious points may be added. The man at whose instance or for whose benefit the ceremony is performed must sleep the night before on a bed of straw; and the dancing party, who are greatly excited with drink, shout continually *būr, būr* (*pudendum muliebre*), a mode of invocation believed to be specially acceptable to the goddess. In this somewhat indelicate cry we may perhaps see a barbarous and undraped reference to the *vis genetrix naturæ* so prominent in many early forms of belief.

* *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 274.

"Besides these greater elemental deities, the Māl Pahārias recognize and propitiate a number of vaguely-defined animistic powers, chief among whom is Chordānu, a malevolent spirit needing to be appeased at certain intervals with sacrifices and the first fruits of whatever crop is on the ground. To the same class belongs Mahādānā, for whom eggs are the appropriate offering. Among the standard Hindu deities Kālī and Lakhī Māi (Lakshmī) are honoured with sparing and infrequent worship, the offerings in this case being the perquisite of the village headmen.

"Ancestor worship is in full force, and the *sacra privata* of a Māl Pahāria household correspond precisely with those observed by the Maler tribe. The Lares are known to both by the familiar term Gumo Gosain or Deota, the gods of the wooden pillar (*gumo*), which supports the main rafters of the house. Around this centre are grouped a number of balls of hardened clay, representing the ancestors of the family, to whom the first fruits of the earth are offered, and the blood of goats or fowls poured forth at the foot of the pillar that the souls may not hunger in the world of the dead. As every household is guarded by its ancestral gods, so every village has a tutelary deity of its own—*Larem agri custodem*—who lives in a *sāl* tree within the village. This tree is daubed with red lead and worshipped on certain occasions, and may on no account be cut down. The tribe have no priests, and the head of the household or village, as the case may be, performs all religious and ceremonial observances. Brāhmans, however, are, to some extent, held in honour, and presents are given to them on festal occasions.

"The dead are usually burned, and a piece of bone is saved from the flames to be thrown away into a river or a deep tank the waters of which do not run dry. The relatives are deemed impure, and may not eat salt for five days. At the end of that time they are shaved, and partake of a feast provided by the eldest son. The funeral expenses are a first charge on the estate, and after these have been paid the balance is equally divided among the sons, daughters getting no share. Very poor persons, who cannot afford to give a feast, bury their dead in a recumbent position with the head towards the south, and give nothing but a little salt and meal (*sattu*) to the friends who attend the funeral. In Buchanan's time it was the universal custom to bury the dead on the day of death. No *srāddha* is performed by the Māl Pahārias proper, but some of the wealthier members of the Kumārbhāg sub-tribe are beginning to adopt a meagre form of this ceremony in imitation of their Hindu neighbours.

Disposal of the dead.

Marriage. "Marriage is either infant or adult. Girls are rarely married before the age of ten or eleven, and usually not until they are fully grown up. In the latter case sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her lover will come forward and marry her. A professional match-maker (*sithu*) is usually employed by the bridegroom's people to search for a suitable wife. When his selection has been made, a visit of inspection is paid by the parents; and if the proposed bride is approved of, the price to be paid for her is settled by personal discussion. Custom ordains that the amount shall be an odd number of rupees, not less than five, nor more than twenty-five. It must be paid, either in a lump sum or by instalments, before the marriage can be celebrated. On the occasion of the final payment the bridegroom's parents send by the *sithu* some *bājrā* beer and a *sāri* for the bride, which is made over to her maternal uncle to be kept till the day of the wedding. Particular inquiries were made regarding the reason for thus selecting the maternal uncle as a sort of trustee for the bride's *peculium*, but no definite result was arrived at; and this usage, undoubtedly one of great antiquity, seems only to be explicable as a survival of female kinship, a system of which no other traces are met with in the tribe.

"Shortly after the bride-price has been paid, the *sithu* is again sent to the bride's house, this time bearing an arrow wound round with yellow thread tied in as many knots as there are days to the date proposed for the wedding. The bride's people make their preparations accordingly, undoing a knot as each day passes. On the day before the bridegroom arrives and is lodged near the bride's house. Early next morning a big feast is given, after which the bridegroom takes his seat facing the east in a sort of arbour of *sāl* branches built for the purpose. Here he is joined by the bride, dressed, like him, in a new cotton wrapper dyed yellow with turmeric, who sits besides him while the maidens of his company comb out her hair. A *sāl* leaf cup is offered to the bridegroom, containing red lead, which he daubs on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The girls who combed the bride's hair take her hand, dip a finger into the red lead, and make seven spots on the bridegroom's forehead. This final and binding rite is received with a shout of applause, which is the signal for the Dom musicians in attendance to beat the drums for a dance. Towards evening the wedded pair go off to the bridegroom's house, where the whole party spend the night in dancing and drinking.

"Polygamy is permitted, and, in theory at least, there are no restrictions on the number of wives a man may have. Practically,

however, the poverty of the tribe and their hand-to-mouth fashion of living set strict limits to the exercise of this right, and few Pahārias indulge themselves with the luxury of a second wife, except when the first happens to be barren. A man may marry two sisters, but he must follow the order of age, and if already married to a younger sister, may not take an elder sister to wife.

"A widow may marry again. She is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother if there is one; but if he does not wish to marry her, any member of the caste not barred by the prohibited degrees may have her on paying a bride-price of Rs. 2 to her late husband's relatives. No ceremony is required, nor is *sindur* used. The husband merely gives the woman a new cloth and takes her to his house. A wife may be divorced with the sanction of the caste council or *panchāyat* for adultery or persistent and incurable ill-temper. As a rule arrangements of this sort are effected by mutual consent, the parties tearing a *sāl* leaf in two before the *panchāyat* as a symbol of separation. The seducer of a married woman is required to repay to her husband the sum which she cost him as a virgin. Divorced wives may marry again in the same manner as widows, and for the same bride-price, which is paid to their own, not to their late husband's, relations."

It does not appear that the Pahārias are a dying race. A report submitted in 1836 by Mr. Dunbar, then Collector of Bhāgalpur, shows that Cleveland estimated their number in all the hills at 100,000; while he himself basing his calculation partly on personal knowledge and partly on the registered number of houses, estimated their number in the demarcated tract alone at about 50,000. These figures must be regarded as conjectural, but it is perhaps not an unfair assumption that, like other early estimates of population, they were in excess of the actual numbers. However that may be, the total number of Pahārias in the district was returned at the first census of 1872 as 86,335, viz., Māls 8,820, Naiyās 9,197 and Pahārias 68,336. In 1891 the total was no less than 136,497, viz., Māls 7,837, Māl Pahārias 17,068 and Pahārias 111,592; while the census of 1901 showed 88,114, viz., Māls 8,974, Male (Sauriā) 47,066, Māl Pahārias 25,628 and Maulik (Naiyās) 6,446. The divergencies are extraordinary, and it appears probable that the different groups were confused with one another by the enumerators. A careful analysis of the figures has been made by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., with special reference to the information obtained in the course of the settlement; and his estimate is that the true number is approximately 131,000, viz., 68,000 for the Maler and 63,000 for the Māl Pahārias, including Naiyās, Pujahars and Mauliks, or nearly 7 per cent. of the total population of the

district. Without going into too much detail, it may be stated that it appears from the settlement records that the number in the Dāmin-i-koh alone is no less than 68,000, viz., 56,000 Maler and 12,000 Māl Pahārias, whereas the census of 1891 showed 54,767 Pahàrias in that tract and the census of 1901 only 27,867.

CHAPTER IV.*

THE SANTALS.

THE traditions of the Santāls represent them as a race wandering from one country to another until they found their present home in Chotā Nāgpur and the adjacent districts. Starting with the creation, these traditions tell us how the first human pair came into existence, how they fell into sin, *i.e.*, had sexual intercourse with one another, after having been taught to brew and drink *hāndi* by Litā, and how they begat seven sons and seven daughters, who ended in marrying one another, whereupon the human race greatly multiplied, but also became very wicked. This happened while they were living in Hihīri-pipīri. They then came to a land called Khoj-kamān, where God called upon them to return to Him; but they would not. Thereupon He decided to exterminate the race, sparing only one holy pair—whether the first pair or some other is forgotten—who were ordered to enter a cave in the mountain of Haratā. They obeyed, and then for seven days and seven nights it rained fire (or, as some say, water), so that all the rest of mankind and all animals were destroyed. After the rain of fire ceased the pair came out and a new human race sprang from them. They lived for some time close to Haratā, but moved from there to Sasan-bedā, *i.e.*, a flat riverside land (*bedā*) with turmeric (*sasan*). Here the race was divided into nations and tribes having the same tribal names as the children of the first pair with five more added. From Sasan-bedā they came to Jarpi. As they wandered on they encountered a high range of hills, in trying to cross which they nearly lost their lives. It was so high that it was long into the forenoon before they saw the sun—a proof, be it noted, that they were travelling east. Here they started worshipping Marang Buru (the big mountain); till then they had worshipped only God. Through the Sin pass and Baih pass they came to Aere, from there to Kaende, thence to Chae (Chai), and finally to Champā. TRADITIONS.

In Champā they lived in prosperity under their own kings for a

* This chapter has been compiled with the help of the Revd. P. O. Bodding of Mohulpahāri, whose kindness in revising the draft and contributing large additions I cannot too warmly acknowledge.

long time. At first they dwelt in peace with the Hindus, because they had helped Rāma against Rāvana, but later on they had fights with the Hindus and among themselves. In Champā several races (the Mundās, Bīrhors, Kurmīs and others) separated from what was, according to the traditions, till then the common Kharwār race. From Champā they came to Tore Pokhori Baha Bandela, where the people after twelve days' or twelve years' discussion – tradition has forgotten which – decided to give up certain old customs and to adopt new social customs. Thence they migrated to various places, *e.g.*, Sikhar and Sant, and at length came to their present homes.

On the basis of these traditions several theories have been put forward to account for the origin of the Santāls. The Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud has conjectured that they lived successively in Persia, Afghānistān and Chinese Tartary, and entered India from the north-west, that they settled in the Punjab and made their way thence to the Chotā Nāgpur plateau.* Colonel Dalton believed that the Santāls came from North-East India, and found their way to the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and the adjoining highlands by the line of their sacred stream, the Dāmodar river. In support of this theory he cited certain remarkable coincidences of custom and language between the Santāls and some of the aboriginal tribes on the north-eastern frontiers of India, from which he inferred a connection in the remote past. This theory of a north-eastern origin was also accepted by Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal*. Colonel Waddell, again, regards the Santāl tradition of their wanderings "as a record of actual tribal progress from the central alluvial valley of the Ganges south-westward to the hills, under pressure of the Aryan invasion of the valley from the north."†

With reference to this theory Dr. A. Campbell writes:—"The theory which seems to me capable of proof is that the Santāls, or rather the people of whom they are a portion, occupied the country on both sides of the Ganges, but more especially that in the north. Starting from the north-east, they gradually worked their way up the valley of the Ganges till we find them in the neighbourhood of Benāres, with their headquarters near Mirzāpur. Here the main body, which had kept the northern bank of the river, crossed, and, heading southwards, came to the Vindhya hills. This obstruction deflected them to the left, and they at length found themselves on the tableland of Chotā Nāgpur." Dr. Campbell further

* *Introduction to Grammar of Santāli Language*, 1873.

† *The Traditional Migration of the Santāl Tribe*, Indian Antiquary, 1893.

believes that the traditions point to a remote past and not to recent migrations inside the Chotā Nāgpur plateau. "Efforts," he writes, "have been made to identify the countries, rivers, forts, etc., mentioned in the traditions of the Santāls with those of similar names in Chotā Nāgpur. Localities have in many instances been found bearing traditional names, and the inference has been drawn that it was here that the traditions of the Santāls took their rise, and that their institutions were formed. But only a slight knowledge of these traditions is necessary to show that they belong to a much more remote period than the location of the Santāls in Chotā Nāgpur, and to countries separated from it by many hundreds of miles."*

This latter theory is not accepted by Sir Herbert Risley, in whose opinion the legend of the Santáls does not appear to deserve serious consideration as a record of actual wanderings. "A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings, and who have no bards to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. If, however, the legends of the Santáls are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts." The same authority then proceeds to point out that it is clear that there was once a large and important Santāl colony in *parganas* Chai and Champā in the Hazāribāgh district, and that there is some evidence that a fort of theirs was taken by the Muhammadans. "If the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrāhīm Alī were assumed to be about 1340 A.D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santāls from Chai Champā and their settlement in the present Santāl Parganas. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *primâ facie* have been expected to follow. The earliest settlements which Santāl tradition speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champā, lie on the north-western frontier of the tableland of Hazāribāgh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihār. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santāls eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends."†

* A. Campbell, *Traditional Migration of the Santāl Tribes,* Indian Antiquary, 1894, pp. 103-4.

† *Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* Vol. II, pp. 225-6.

On this subject Mr. Bodding writes:—"It is as yet very difficult to say anything definite as to the origin of the Santals, or rather of the race to which they belong. They have had no written records of their own. To come to a conclusion, therefore, we have to examine and rely upon other materials. These are their traditions, their customs, their language, their anthropological features and what may be found in foreign records. As to their traditions, it is possible to accord them too high a value; but I feel sure no one who has got a true knowledge of them will be inclined to despise them. It is true they contain much phantastic stuff, apparently borrowed from foreigners. When you hear part of the story of the creation, you are reminded of myths of the same kind prevalent, *e.g.*, in Southern Burma. Much is childish. But, on the other hand, it is difficult to avoid the impression that below the surface there are remnants of true facts.

"The traditions have been handed down from *guru* to *chelā* from generation to generation. They differ in minor details, but all have certain fragments of songs in common, which record the main events. The traditions have a practical interest for the people; they are repeated by the *gurus* on certain occasions, of which I shall only mention the so-called *chācho-chhātiār*, the ceremonial feast when a young person is formally taken into the tribe and given the rights of a Santāl. One indispensable part of the ceremony is that a *guru* recites the traditions, beginning with the creation and ending with how they came to their present home. It will be seen that in this way the traditions are always kept up to date, and that they possess a real living interest for the people, enough to give them more than a mythological value.

"I am inclined to believe that the Chai and Champā mentioned are to be found in Hazāribāgh and on the Chotā Nāgpur plateau, and from this point it is not difficult to verify the wanderings of the people as told by the traditions. As to what lies before that time and those places, it is difficult to pronounce an opinion. It cannot at best be anything more than a dim recollection, the more so when it is borne in mind that the Santāls, shortly after leaving Champā, deliberately gave up old and adopted new social customs. I am inclined to think that the skeleton of the first part of the traditions refers to the remotest antiquity, but that the facts have possibly been mixed, so that details belonging to a later period may have been fitted on to an earlier one. That part of the traditions refers to the people's existence outside India seems beyond doubt.

"Before leaving the traditions I may mention three statements found in them. They may mean nothing or hide the solution of

the problem of the origin of this race. The first is the very beginning of the traditions, which says:—'Towards the rising of the sun is the birth of man.' The second is the statement (mentioned later in the section on mythology) that after the pair of swans (*hāns hasīl*) had got a boy and girl out of their eggs, and had fed and kept them for some time, they became very anxious as to where they should place them. They implored God to help them, and he recommended them to fly out and seek a place for the two human beings. They went forth towards the setting of the sun and found Hihīri Pipīri, reported this to God, and were ordered to take the boy and girl there, which they did carrying them on their backs. The third is that the old traditions say that man was born on the ocean. The traditions elsewhere declare or imply that the migrations have been towards the east, excepting perhaps the wanderings to Khoj-kamān and Sasan-bedā.

"As a general rule the customs and institutions of a people will give some hints as to their previous connections, and this is also the case with the Santāls. But, as already mentioned, they have at a certain time (probably in our 15th century) deliberately discarded some old social customs and adopted new ones, doubtlessly under Hindu influence, and got some Aryan social customs altered to suit their convenience. I should not be surprised to find that they have at some time had regular Hindu teachers. Still a great many of the original customs are preserved, and the handling of the adopted ones also is original. It is quite true that many of their customs point to the east, much further even than Assam, and others perhaps to the north. The matter has, however, not been sufficiently investigated as yet to give us a right to base more than hypothesis on what we know.

"Another source of knowledge is the language, and a careful study yields wonderful results and brings to light unimpeachable facts. The Santāl language has a pure non-Aryan skeleton, with very few exceptions a pure grammar, and an often rich vocabulary of words denoting everything which can in any way be observed with the senses, names of the body and parts of it, etc., in short, all which is their own by nature. But when it comes to words which denote most things that appertain to civilization, complex states of mind, abstract thought, etc., or names for social functions and relations brought about by marriage, not to mention law terms, we find most of them have been borrowed from their neighbours. All these additions with very few exceptions are of Aryan origin, and belong to one or other of the Aryan vernaculars of North India. The most recent additions come

from Bengal, or even Assam, being importations by returned tea garden coolies; previous to that we have appropriations from Bihāri and other forms of Hindī. A good many words must have been borrowed far to the west; their peculiar form is a sure sign that the ancestors of the Santāls must have been living much further west than Chotā Nāgpur.

"On the other hand, there are a few linguistic features in the Santāl language which may perhaps find an explanation in trans-Himalayan languages. As far as I know, some phonetic peculiarities of the Santāl and other Mundā languages are not found further west than the present habitat of these races, but are, on the contrary, met with eastwards. The linguistic relatives of the Santāls are at present to be found to the east, specially in Southern Burma and on the Malay Peninsula (Mon-Khmer and other languages); and a conviction is gradually establishing itself that these peoples, belong to a large race living now eastwards so far as the Pacific islands, and having their westernmost 'friends' in India. It is not as yet more than a hypothesis; but what is known distinctly points in that direction. There is, of course, a possibility that what is found common in all their languages is borrowed from a now unknown common source.

"We then come to the anthropological question. The Santāls have been classified as belonging to the Dravidian race, and this classification has been based on anthropological measures; linguistically there is absolutely no connection between the two, except a few words borrowed. The features are very much alike, and the anthropological measurements give very similar results. But a good many races in this world would in that case have to be classified as Dravidians. Both may have a common origin in the unknown past; but apart from these measurements we know nothing to connect the races with any certainty. Besides, the Dravidian type, although the prevalent one, is by no means the only one found. Several Aryan types are met with, and a Mongoloid one is not very uncommon. Other types may be found, but too few to be taken into account. All this proves mixture of blood at some time or other. What I would especially draw attention to in this connection is the Mongoloid type, and types resembling what is found in Assam, Burma and further on. To obtain sure results, however, it is necessary to have exact measurements of all types, not only of the Dravidian one. There is a possibility that they may have been a Dravidian tribe, which for some reason or other gave up their old language and adopted a new one; we find instances of a similar nature even among the

Kharwarian tribes. But there is no trace of this having happened, and I think it is safest to await further investigations before adopting such a theory.

"Finally, we have what outsiders have recorded and connecting points in the history of other better known races. There is not much more than what is mentioned in Sir H. H. Risley's excellent work (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*), and what has been recorded here further down in this chapter. It all refers to a recent or comparatively recent time. I think it may be ascertained that the ancestors of these races were living west of Benāres about the commencement of our era—I am accepting the theory that the Cheros originally belonged to the Kharwārs. The fact that the *Rāmāyana* tells us about the help of Hanumān should not be overlooked, but be compared with the statement of the traditions that the Kharwārs helped Rāma.

"When all this is summed up, the result is rather meagre. We may be fairly sure that the ancestors of the race to which the Santāls belong were living on the Chotā Nāgpur plateau about six hundred years ago, and that they had at that time been living there for many generations. Their traditions and their language make it likely that they have reached this place from the west (south-west); and it is not improbable that about two thousand years ago they were on both sides of the Ganges west of Benāres.

"If we are to accept the traditions of the people these either affirm or presuppose that, since the time when the human race was split up into nations, they have always been wandering in a more or less easterly direction—a direction which now-a-days also is followed by them in all their migrations. This would imply that they came into India from the north-west. I must confess that I personally was long of this opinion, and I have not given it up altogether; but I am more and more getting my eyes opened to the fact that the Santāl and Mundā peoples have their connections towards the east. It is possible that the Santāls and other Mundā tribes have come from the east into India, that they at first advanced far to the west, and that after some time they were forced by the invading Aryans to retrace their steps; but it is also just as possible that they are the last remnants and laggards of a race which came from the west and has spread to the east and south. As far as I can see, it is not possible to pronounce a more definite opinion at present."

Whatever may have been the original habitat of the race, there is no doubt that within historic times they were settled in the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and in the adjoining districts of THE SANTAL ADVANCE.

Midnapore and Singhbhūm, and that they began to make their way northwards towards the close of the 18th century. The earliest mention of them appears to be contained in an article entitled "Some Extraordinary Facts, Customs and Practices of the Hindus" by Lord Teignmouth (Sir John Shore), which was published in the Asiatic Researches of 1795. In this article they were designated "Soontars" and described as a rude unlettered tribe residing in Ramgur (Rāmgarh), the least civilized part of the Company's possessions, who have reduced the detection and trial of persons suspected of witchcraft to a system." The first mention of the Santāls in this district occurs in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* (compiled from Buchanan Hamilton's manuscripts), which contains two references to them, in one of which their name is spelt "Saungtar," while in the other a printer's error has converted it to "Taungtar." The first is:—"It is only in Lakerdewani that some impure Taungtars have been permitted to work the cow, and the most violent opposition was at first made to such an atrocious innovation; but the obstinacy of the barbarians prevailed, chiefly, I believe, because they were thought powerful in witchcraft, and because disputes with such people were considered as dangerous." The second is:—"The tenants of Behār in general transact their own business with the agents of the zamīndārs, and it is only among the rude tribe called Saungtar, and in the Bengalese parts of the district that a kind of chief tenant is employed to transact the whole affairs of the community." These passages, as Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., points out, are interesting as they illustrate three peculiarities of the Santāls, viz., their contempt of Hindu prejudices, their superstitious belief in witchcraft, and their communal system, all of which survive in undiminished strength to the present day.

Further information about the Santāls at this early time has been obtained by Mr. McPherson from the unpublished manuscripts of Buchanan Hamilton, in which it is stated:—"The Saungtars are a tribe that has a peculiar language. So far as I could learn, about 500 families are now settled in the wilder parts of the district. This, however, is a late event, and they came last from Bīrbhūm in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamīndārs. The original seat of this tribe, as far as I could learn from them, is Palāmau and Rāmgarh. They are very expert in clearing forests and bringing them into cultivation, but seldom endure to pay any considerable rent, and whenever the land has been brought into full cultivation and the customary rent is demanded, they retire to the wastes

belonging to some other zamīndārs. A whole village always moves at once, and their headman (*mānjhi*) makes a bargain with the new landlord for the whole, agreeing to pay a certain sum for as much land as they can cultivate. At first they pay a trifle, but this is annually increased until the full sum becomes due. If any attempt is made to take more from any individual the whole run off. The *mānjhi* levies the assessment on the individuals according to the stock which each possesses. The office of *mānjhi* is considered hereditary; but if the people of a village are discontented they apply to the zamīndār and say that they will no longer pay their rents through such a man, but wish to have such another person appointed their *mānjhi*. There is no distinction of family rank between the *mānjhis* and their inferiors—all eat in company and intermarry." Buchanan Hamilton then proceeds to give an account of their religious beliefs, which need not be quoted here.

The first extract given above will be sufficient to show that by the end of the first decade of the 19th century the Santāls had settled in considerable numbers in Lakerdewani, *i.e.*, Handwe and Belpatta, two tracts lying outside the hills. They had made their way there from Bīrbhūm, where they appear to have been brought in to clear the country. According to Sir William Hunter:—"The Permanent Settlement for the land tax in 1790 resulted in a general extension of tillage, and the Santāls were hired to rid the lowlands of the wild beasts which, since the great famine of 1769, had everywhere encroached upon the margin of cultivation. This circumstance was so noticeable as to find its way into the London papers, and from 1792 a new era in the history of the Santāl dates."* By 1818 the Santāls had made their way further north into the forests below the hills in the Goddā subdivision, and even into the Dāmin-i-koh; for Mr. Sutherland, writing in that year, noticed their presence in *tappas* Dhamsai and Jamni Harnipur and also in *tappa* Sarmi of *pargana* Handwe, and in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal, which are included in the Dumkā portion of the Dāmin-i-koh. By 1827 the Santāls had got as far as the extreme north of the Goddā subdivision, Mr. Ward when demarcating the Dāmin-i-koh finding three Santāl villages in Pātsundā and 27 villages in Barkop. His first impressions of the Santāls are interesting. "There are," he wrote, "within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santars. These people are natives of the Singbhoom and adjacent country; their habits and customs

* *Annals of Rural Bengal*.

are singular; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamīndārs, who invite them to settle. From choice they select the most wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation. They take 'pattahs' from the zamīndārs, the terms of which are generally one rupee per annum for every plough used and the 'nuzzer' of a kid. They are quiet and peaceably disposed, and so much liked by the zamīndārs for the great use they are of in clearing forest lands, where from the nature of the climate others could not be established, that they generally meet with the best treatment."

It will be noticed that in the above extract Mr. Ward referred to Singhbhūm as the place of origin of the Santāl immigrants he met, and from depositions which he took it appears that they had left and were still leaving Singhbhūm because of disturbances there.* The part of Singhbhūm from which they migrated was probably Dhalbhūm, in which the Santāls are still very numerous, and its neighbourhood. It is not known what were the disturbances alluded to, but the account of the Santāls in Midnapore, of which Dhalbhūm then formed part, given (in 1820) in Hamilton's *Hindustan* may help to explain the circumstances which would lead them to emigrate. "Some parts of these jungles are occupied by a poor miserable proscribed race of men called Sontals, despised on account of their low caste by the inhabitants of the plain country, who would on no account allow any one of them to fix himself in their villages. The peasantry in the vicinity, by way of distinction, call themselves good creditable people, while they scarcely admit the Sontals within the pale of humanity; yet the latter are a mild, sober, industrious people, and remarkable for sincerity and good faith. The zamīndārs give them no leases, yet on the whole treat them well; for such is their timidity that they fly on the least oppression, and are no more heard of. Notwithstanding they hold their lands on such easy terms, and scarcely ever have their verbal tenures violated, they are said to be naked, half-starved, and apparently in the lowest stage of human misery; a result we should not have expected from the character above assigned them. Their villages are generally situated between the cultivated plains and the thick jungles, in order that they may protect the crops of their more

* W. B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwān District*, p. xxii.

fortunate neighbours from deer and wild swine. In some instances they have been known to till their lands with considerable success, and raise good crops of rice and collie (*kalāi*); but all that their vigilance can preserve from the ravages of wild beasts is extorted from them by the rapacity of the money-lenders. To these miscreants the Sontals, who have but a slender knowledge of the value of money, pay interest at the rate of 100 per cent. for their food, and nearly 150 per centum for their seed; so that when their crops are ready, little or nothing remains for themselves."

Buchanan Hamilton's information was that disputes with the Bīrbhūm zamīndārs drove the Santāls into Handwe and Belpatta, and the date of their settlement there may be placed between 1790 and 1810. It was probably a later influx (between 1815 and 1830) which brought the tribe to the notice of Mr. Sutherland in 1816 and of Mr. Ward, the demarcator of the Dāmin-i-koh, between 1826 and 1833. These pioneers were soon followed by large numbers of their tribesmen, who between 1836 and 1851 flocked into the Dāmin-i-koh, where they cleared the jungle and received land on easy terms. According to Captain Sherwill, there were no less than 83,265 Santāls in the Dāmin-i-koh alone in 1851. The marginal table shows their strength in the whole district at each census except that of 1881, when the figure returned (9,148) was obviously incorrect. The total number of Santāls in other parts of Bengal and Eastern Bengal is 1,166,672, and they are most numerous in Mānbhūm (194,730), Midnapore (148,251) and Bānkurā (105,682).

1872	...	455,513
1891	...	617,158
1901	...	663,471

ORIGIN OF NAME.

The name Santāl, spelt in one way or another (*e.g.*, Sonthal), is an English form adopted from Hindi, which corresponds with the form Saontār used by the Bengali-speaking peoples. Both names are only applied to the tribe by non-Santāls, and the Santāls do not use them in speaking about themselves except as a concession to foreigners; then they prefer the form Saontār. Both Santāl and Saontār have the same origin, according to phonetic law and practice in the different languages. The Santāls themselves state that they got this name through foreigners commencing to call them so whilst and because they were living in Saont (Sant, as they pronounce the name of the country), which has been identified with the modern Sildā *pargana* in the Midnapore District. Etymologically there is nothing against this, *āl* being a suffix used in Hindī and other Aryan languages to form possessional adjectives from substantives, and *ār* doing the same for the Bengali word.

Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., is of opinion that the name is an abbreviation of Samantawālā. Samanta, he says, is another name given to the Sildā *pargana*, whence the immigrant Santāls discovered by Mr. Ward in 1828 deposed that they had come. "As in Bengal all trans-frontier Pathāns, even if Khorāsani or Baluch, are called Kābuli, or as in the Santāl Parganas all Hindustāni money-lenders, even Mārwāris, are called Bhojpuriā, because the first and most conspicuous of their kind came from Bhojpur in Shāhābād, so would so remarkable a people as the Santāls on their first appearance in Burdwān and Bīrbhūm be called after the place whence some of them were known to have come." In regard to this latter theory it may be mentioned that the Sildā *pargana* is known locally as Samantabhui, but by the Santāls (who elide the *m*) as Santbhui, the tradition being that the country was so called because it was conquered by a Samanta Rājā, *i.e.*, a general of the Emperor of Delhi There are, moreover, signs of a fairly old Santāl settlement in the *pargana*, and round about it a dense population of Santāls accounting for over one-third of the inhabitants. There is also a tract called Samantabhūm or Santbhūm in the Bānkurā District, which the Santāls claim to have colonized, and legend relates that it was held by 12 Samanta brothers, a number which will recall the 12 Santāl sects.

Regarding these theories Mr. Bodding writes:—"That Sant and Saont are to be derived from the (originally Sanskrit) word Samanta seems to be very probable. As a matter of fact all the forms (Sant, Saont, Saot and Sat) are easily derivable from this according to common Aryan phonetic laws. There is no doubt that the word itself is of Aryan origin. If a translation of the word is sought, the original meaning would be something like "bordermen," but as they have probably got the name in the way mentioned, the meaning implied by the users of the word would not be that; they are 'Saonters.'"

The Santāls call themselves simply Har, meaning man, and state that they were formerly called Kharwār. As a rule, if asked their name and caste by a stranger, they reply Mānjhi.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS. The Santāl is a man of medium stature, but muscular and sturdily built, wiry and capable of great physical endurance. His complexion is dark, varying from brown to an almost jet black colour. The latter is very rare, while a light-brown complexion is by no means infrequent, and would be much oftener in evidence, if the Santāl did not expose his body to sun and air as he does: the Mongoloid types are generally fair coloured. He is beardless or nearly so, but has coarse and sometimes curly hair on the pate.

It was formerly the custom for all Santāls to wear long hair gathered together in a knot, but now-a-days it is very seldom that one sees a man with long hair ; if it is long, there is generally a small comb fixed on the left side. The cheek bones are somewhat prominent, the nose is generally broad and depressed, the mouth is large, and the lips are full and projecting. According to Sir Herbert Risley:—"In point of physical characteristics the Santāls may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. The proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongoloid descent." Faces of a Mongoloid type are, however, sometimes seen; and Mr. Bodding has observed spots in the pigment of the skin of Santāl children, which, in size, position and colour, resemble certain peculiar blue spots found on Mongol children, which are said to be a distinct race-mark not found outside the Mongolian peoples.* He remarks:—"The theory of Mongolian descent is not tenable, but there cannot be any doubt that Mongolian blood has been introduced, either by Santāls taking Mongolian wives, or Santāl women having illegitimate children by Mongolian men. I have no doubt that a good many of the Aryan types among the present-day Santāls are caused by Santāl women having illicit intercourse with Aryans. The Santāls are not what they were in this respect."

In the work of reclaiming land and clearing new jungle the Santāls have few equals in India, but, as a rule, they care little for cultivating in flat lowland tracts. A country denuded of forests does not attract them; and, writes Colonel Dalton, "when, through their own labour the spread of cultivation has effected this denudation, they select a new site, however prosperous they may have been on the old, and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may once more be utilized." This roving spirit is not so marked now, probably owing to the security given by the settlement, and Santāls in this district cling tenaciously to their lands. The rapid increase of their numbers and also, perhaps, in part, their indebtedness still force them, however, to emigrate in large numbers.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

As regards the quality of their cultivation, a few, and those only who live in the vicinity of Hindu agricultural villages, have learnt to take proper care of their lands. For instance, they will not, as a rule, weed or manure their paddy fields.

* *Mongolian Race-marks among the Santāls.* J.A.S. B., 1904, Part III, p. 26.

The only bit of land they manure is the *barge, i.e.,* a plot of land as a rule adjoining the house-site, where they grow Indian corn. The Santāls are gradually becoming better cultivators as they become more settled, but they are still somewhat happy-go-lucky in their habits. They love a roaming life with hunting and fishing, with pleasures of sorts and the least possible labour except when the work has in a way become an acquired instinct. The paddy fields and outlying upland fields (called second-class *bāri* land) are used only for one crop; from their *barges* they generally gather two; otherwise their fields lie fallow for six to eight months of the year.

Socially, they are a jolly, cheerful people, contented with their lot, so long as they have enough to eat and drink, and to spend on religious and social ceremonies. "As he is unfettered with caste, the Santāl enjoys existence in a far greater degree than does his neighbour, the priest-ridden and caste-crushed Hindu. The Santāl eats his buffalo-beef, his kids, poultry, pork or pigeons, enjoys a hearty carouse enlivened with the spirit *pachwai,* and dances with his wives and comrades to express his joy and thankfulness."* Hard drinking is a peculiar failure of the Santāls, who enjoy nothing so much as a carouse; but so far the physique of the race does not seem to be impaired. Their fondness for drink may be gathered from the attitude of an old Mānjhi, who asked whether the God of the Christians would allow old people to get drunk twice a week. When he heard the horrified answer of the missionary, he simply replied: "Then teach our boys and girls, but leave us alone." Rice is their chief food, but they are able to live on all sorts of roots and vegetables; when food is scarce, they will have recourse to other fare. They will, for instance, eat two kinds of snake (the *dhāmin* and rock-snake), a few kinds of rats, one kind of frog, one lizard, etc. The lizard is considered excellent eating; but the rest are generally only partaken of by children, especially shepherd boys. Though living mostly on vegetables they enjoy animal food when they can get it, and nothing so much as pig curry. Except at certain sacrifices, they never eat cows, bullocks or buffaloes, unless they die from disease or have to be killed because they have broken a leg, etc., or are too old to be used as draught cattle. They rather enjoy chewing the tough meat, but certain kinds of meat they abhor, *e.g.,* horse-flesh.

Their food may be divided into two main classes, *viz.,* (1) cereals, prepared as *bhāt,* with curry of some kind added, and

* W. S. Sherwill, *A Tour through the Rājmahāl Hills,* J. A. S. B., 1851.

(2) other food eaten raw or roasted, but without cereals. A list prepared by Mr. Bodding gives the following details:—Cereals (19 kinds) besides a large number of varieties of rice; vegetable curries composed of (*a*) leguminous plants (14), (*b*) cultivated vegetables (18) and (*c*) leaves of wild plants and trees (59); mushrooms (24); resins (10); fruits (wild or cultivated) (65); tubers (25); all domestic animals, except dogs, horses and cats, and wild animals including tigers, leopards, jackals, foxes, five kinds of rats, etc., (30); snakes (2); lizards (1); tortoises and crocodiles (6); birds, with the eggs of every bird eaten (72); fishes (at least 30); wild grains, fruits, etc., eaten during times of scarcity (21); oil-seeds and kernels (16); and the ordinary Indian spices. A gourmand could not wish for more miscellaneous material, and it is not certain that the list is quite complete.

As will be mentioned later, it is probable that the social system of the Santāls was originally communistic; and if their traditions are to be believed, they were formerly a self-contained nation having very few social relations with other races. It is possible to trace, even at the present time, a distinct idea among them that a Santāl has a right to possess and appropriate any part of nature not previously in the occupation of anybody else. Land is common property till it has been held under a title, or, at least, "trampled round." All forests and forest produce are considered free to all, if they have not been definitely occupied by others. Any wild animal is also lawful prey, but belongs to the man who first wounded it, not to the man who kills it, although the latter and the village headman get portions of the animal as determined by custom. River fish belong to anybody, and if a man dams up a watercourse or has a natural pond, he does not enjoy the fish alone, but on some day or other invites the villagers and neighbours to catch all the fish there. They give the owner of the water-course a small share, and the bigger fish are also divided; the idea of public property is thus apparent. This does not of course apply in the case of fish stocked in a tank, a very recent innovation with the Santāls. As soon as anyone takes possession of anything with the consent of the village, he is treated as the owner.

It is possible that the same feeling may partially explain the sexual relations of the people. As long as the girls are not owned by anybody, it does not much concern anyone what is done with them or what they do as long as they are not "spoilt." But if they are anybody's property, it is different. If anything goes wrong, it is the male who suffers; the female is regarded more or less as a domestic animal—formerly she might even be killed. It

is a curious fact that the adulterer is called a thief in their legal phraseology; further, that the people say that in olden times theft was unknown among the people, the only exception being that they might occasionally kill and eat by stealth a stray goat or sheep. They have, they say, learnt to steal and to lie from the Hindu cats, as they call them.

Under such conditions it will easily be understood that the Santāls in the old days did not and could not have any regular business transactions among themselves or with outsiders. They did not use money, and did not buy or sell, but bartered. They grew or made or found what they needed. They manufactured their own salt, wove their own cloths, and made their weapons, implements and utensils. If any one wanted a cow or a wife, they were obtained by barter. The old *gurus* say that the Baske sept started a kind of bartering business; and it is curious that to this day a mixed mustard oil, used for culinary purposes, is never called anything else than "barter oil."

As the forests have been thinned and the Santāls have come into contact with other races, their circumstances have greatly altered. They have got money, although they do not as yet understand its value. It may almost be said that they know the worth of a pice, but not yet of a rupee. They hanker after the fineries of others, and will give away their substance to obtain them. Under the influence of Hindu caste ideas they are gradually developing into a kind of cultivator caste, whose real occupation is agriculture of an inferior kind, and whose leisure time is spent in idleness. There is no doubt that the Santāls are not as yet equipped to take up the struggle with outsiders; if they are not helped, they will go to the wall. Their ideals are in the past, not in the future; and another great drawback is that they are liable to hopelessness as to their future as a people. But let them see a thing succeed, and they are quick enough to adopt it. The Santāls are at the same time rigid formalists. They do not go outside the old forms and regard any omission or aberration therefrom as serious faults. This love of ceremonial formalism is another obstacle to their development. As to personal characteristics, the Santāls are easy-going and, on the whole, easily contented. The most frequent causes of strife are, on the one hand, land disputes and sexual relations, and, on the other, their belief in witchcraft. The men are more peaceable than the women, who, besides having a quicker wit and a more fluent tongue, know very well that if a man complains against his wife, he has to pay any fine that may be imposed.

Generally speaking the Santāls, with their reckless gaiety, their bluntness and simple honesty, and their undoubted zest for all out-door amusements and particularly for hunting, are a very attractive race to an officer accustomed to deal with other races in Bengal. They are, on the whole, truthful, law-abiding and honest people; their word is their bond, and a knot on a string is as good as a receipt. Their manners are straightforward, simple and independent, and the women in particular show a certain native freedom, without, however, being bold or brazen. An amusing instance of this freedom has been quoted. On every market day a number of Santāl women used to frequent the garden of a former Assistant Commissioner, plucking his flowers and making themselves quite at home. They would then walk into his house and deck themselves before the looking-glass in his dressing-room, thinking no evil and fearing none. The Santāls are, however, not industrious, and if anything contrary to custom and habit is required, or if they suspect that evil spirits are at work, they do not display much endurance. Cases, for instance, are known of people attacked by fever dying in a very short time through fear. Their food and exposed life may account for much, but it seems to be a fact that they have not the power of resisting disease that Europeans possess, and old people are comparatively few.

The Santāls have a large number of different dances and, with two or three exceptions, these are very decent to look at; but excluding a couple of war-dances, the associations of the dance are always doubtful. Except at festivals they never dance during the daytime, but at night; and the dances give the two sexes an opportunity for illicit intercourse. In the Santāl mind, therefore, dancing is always associated with sensuality. "It often happens," writes Mr. Bodding, "that Europeans who have no idea of this, and who enjoy the plastic movements of the people, call for Santāls to dance before them. I believe it would be wise to leave this item out of entertainments, because the people, as a matter of fact, draw the conclusion that, when a European wants to have such an exhibition, the cause is that he has inclinations in the same direction as the Santāls. This does not advance the British prestige. To give another example. It has been customary at a certain *melā* to have races for Santāl women. With the way in which a Santāl woman puts on her cloth it is unavoidable that when running she is partially uncovered. I have heard of a case where the husband divorced his wife because at such a *melā* she exposed herself running and ran against his special wish." DANCES.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

The tradition of the Santāls is that the parents of mankind were Pilchū Harām and Pilchū Budhi, who sprung from two eggs laid by a wild gander and goose. *Pilchū*, it may be explained, means "original;" *harām*, an old or elderly man, or a married man; and *budhi*, an old woman or a married woman; while *harām budhi* is used to denote a married couple, or a pair living together as husband and wife, except those recently married. The traditional names do not mean more than that the human race sprung from one pair, hatched from two eggs laid by a pair of swans or geese. *Hāns* is the name for the gander, *hasīl* for the goose; but the words, which are of Aryan origin, may also mean swans. This first pair had seven boys and seven girls; the names of about half of these are mentioned in the traditions, and are also probably of Aryan origin. When they were married and had children, the seven parents (and the grand-parents) decided that henceforth brothers and sisters should not marry. They therefore divided themselves into seven exogamous septs, called (1) Hānsdak, (2) Murmū, (3) Kiskū, (4) Hembrom, (5) Marndī, (6) Saren and (7) Tudū. When the first race was exterminated in Khoj-kamān, only one righteous pair being saved in the cave of Harata, the new race which sprang from this pair was again divided into seven exogamous septs with the same names as the original septs, to which five more were added, viz., Baske, Besrā, Paunriā, Chore and Bedeā: the last sept has been lost. These names are all sept names, not *nomina propriâ*.

There is a diffuse kind of traditional story relating how the sept names were given after a big hunt, but they are really totemistic in origin. Each sept (*pāris*) has a pass-word peculiar to itself and is divided into a number of sub-septs (*khunt*). No Santāl may marry within his father's sept or any of its sub-septs, or into his mother's sub-sept; but he may marry into her sept, a Santāl proverb saying—"No one heeds a cow track or his mother's sept." The pass-words, which specially belong to the original septs (*nij-Hānsdak*, *nij-Murmu*, etc.) and frequently are unknown to other sub-septs, are generally names of ancestors, chiefs or other important persons or places, forts, etc. They refer to places and persons in Champā, and are thus of no very great antiquity.

COMMUNAL SYSTEM.

The basis of the Santal communal system is the village. A Santāl will never settle alone in an uncultivated area; when they have found a place, which by a curious mixture of common sense and superstition (*e.g.*, omens) they judge to be good, they go there in a body and settle with a leader and his assistants. The

first leader becomes the village headman, the others his subordinate officers. The village headman (*mānjhi*) is *primus inter pares*, being chosen by the village people to administer the rights, rules and ceremonies of the Santāl village community. No public sacrifice, no festival, no ceremony, such as a marriage—in short, nothing of a public character—can be properly done without the *mānjhi* participating or taking the initiative. If a village has got a headman of another race as a *pradhān*, the Santāl will have for themselves an official called *hāndi mānjhi*, *i.e.*, literally a "liquor chief," who performs all the duties of a Santāl village chief except collecting rent and doing work demanded by Government or landlord. Everything of a ceremonial kind is ratified by *hāndi*.

The headman is the representative of the village both in its external and internal relations. For his trouble he gets the honour of the post and some material advantages, which formerly included rent-free land, certain portions of the animals killed in sacrifice, etc. If there is anything affecting the village interests, he calls the villagers together to discuss and settle it; or he may summon them to sit in judgment if a villager has complained to him. The village is here represented by the *more hor* (literally five men), a term which probably originally signified the headman and the four other village officials, but now always includes any adult male belonging to the village. They try as far as possible to settle all internal disputes, and it is considered very "bad form" for anybody to take a case outside the village boundary. With proper control the system works well; for though the Santāls take an unconscionably long time over a case, they end as a rule in doing justice.

If there is any dispute with anyone belonging to another village, the people of both villages meet together and try to decide the case. If they cannot manage to do this, or if one or both of the parties are dissatisfied, they can, or rather could, appeal to the *pargana*, who is the head of a number of villages and generally also a village headman. When he sits in full bench to do judgment, his *panchāyat* consists of the village headmen of his circle and other influential men in the neighbourhood—in fact, any male adult belonging to the place may be present. The *pargana* pronounces judgment, as also does the *mānjhi*, but they will not, as a rule, do so without first being sure of having a majority for their verdict. As the *mānjhi* has an assistant in the village, so the *pargana* has an assistant in his circle called the *des-mānjhi*. The traditional perquisites of a *pargana* are one rupee, half a seer of *ghī* and four scores of Indian-corn cobs annually from each

village under him; those of the *des-mãnjhi* half this amount. Both have, as a matter of duty, to give a feast to the village chiefs when these things are paid to them. The village *panchãyat* system works very well among the Santãls; the same cannot be said about the *parganas*, many of whom abuse their position.

Above the village headmen and the *parganãs* are the people themselves. During the hot weather the Santãls have big hunts, in which every male who can possibly get away will try to participate. The convener of the hunt is called *dihri*, a Pahãria word used by them for priest.* The *dihri* is a common Santãl who acts as the priest, sacrificer and master of the hunt. He sends round word by means of a *sãl* branch, notifying the date and place of the hunt and also the place where the people are to spend the night. They reach this spot at sunset, after the hunt is over, cook their food, etc., and then take up, under the presidency of the *dihri*, any matter which may be brought before the people in council assembled. Here the *mãnjhis* and *parganas* are, if necessary, brought to justice; and if any one has to be excommunicated, his case is dealt with. Any matter, great or small, may be brought forward by anyone; if a case cannot be finally decided, it is kept in abeyance till next year's hunt.

The people themselves are the final authority; the officials are only their representatives appointed to perform certain duties, to keep order and to represent them generally. Custom has made these positions practically hereditary, and has also established a kind of ownership in land. But there are many traces of the communal system, of which two may be mentioned. In Māgh (January-February) the village people gather together after a sacrifice; the headman, taking the lead, resigns his post to the village people; all the other officials also resign their posts to one another as representing the village, and the villagers surrender their land to the headman, saying that they will keep only their old house-sites and their huts—a figurative expression for their wives and their own bodies, connoting personal freedom. After a few days everything is *pro formâ* given and taken back again. Again, if a man leaves his village, he cannot, for instance, sell his house, for the timber of it belongs to the village; he cannot sell his land to outsiders, for it has to be taken up by a fellow-villager.

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* *Cf.* the Khond *dehuri*. This is a curious resemblance, and it is not the only one. A sub-sept of the Santãls, called Buru-beret-Marndī, have a peculiar sub-sept sacrifice, which has many points of resemblance with the old Khond human sacrifice, but the Santãls sacrifice a cock.

In the Dāmin-i-koh the *parganas* (also called *parganaits*, though the latter is not a Santāli word) have an official position, the area within the jurisdiction of each forming the administrative unit or revenue division known as a "Bungalow." They are appointed by Government, and through them the *mānjhis* or village headmen pay their rents and deal with Government, the *parganas* being remunerated by a commission of 2 per cent. on the collections of the *mānjhis* subordinate to them. They are generally responsible for the good behaviour of the latter and for the punctual payment of rent, and are also bound to see that crimes are reported, and that roads, embankments, boundary pillars and staging bungalows are kept in proper repair. Under them, in the Dāmin-i-koh, are *des-mānjhis*, who are their assistants, and *chaklādārs*, who act as their messengers. Outside the Dāmin there are no *parganas* left; in their stead some so-called *sardārs* have been appointed. The latter discharge some of the duties of police officers, having a number of village *chaukīdārs* under them, and perform much of the judicial work formerly transacted by the *parganas*. Government officials frequently send them cases regarding social matters, land disputes, etc., for investigation and report. There are then three judges, one for the complainant, one for the accused and one for Government, who are always men of some social position. This court is called *sālis*, and its decisions are popularly regarded as subject to no appeal.

The *mānjhi* is also recognized officially. He is not only the fiscal head of the village collecting the rents but is its police officer, being bound to report crimes. Through him the villagers, as a body, deal with the proprietor, the latter being merely a rent-receiver, who has properly no part in the internal economy of the village, though he frequently makes his proprietary rights felt. In virtue of his office the *mānjhi* is, in the Dāmin-i-koh, given by Government a commission of 8 per cent. of the collections, while in the zamīndāri estates he retains 12½ per cent. of them, viz., one anna in the rupee from the ryots and another from the zamīndār. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner with the consent of the villagers and may be dismissed by him for misconduct; otherwise the office is by custom hereditary, descending from father to son, except where the son is palpably unfit. According to the Santāl institutions, the *mānjhi* is chosen by the villagers, and if they are dissatisfied they can get him dismissed and another man installed. At the present day the Deputy Commissioner has the right to appoint and dismiss; but it is only in exceptional cases that he will act counter to the wishes of the village people.

The headman is not always known simply as a *mānjhi*, but also as *pradhān* and *mustājir*. These three names are due to a difference of origin. The *mānjhi* was the head ryot of an aboriginal or semi-aboriginal community, who had social as well as official functions to perform. The *mustājir* was the person to whom a proprietor leased a cultivated village or a piece of jungle for reclamation on *ijāra* or *thīkā*, *i.e.*, at a rent fixed for a term of years with the right to collect what he could from the ryots. Such a *mustājir* might be foreign to the rest of community or be an ordinary aboriginal headman. The title *pradhān* is a modern one used for all village headmen in the settlement records.

In his official capacity the *mānjhi* is assisted by a sub-headman called a *pārānik*, the Santāl form of *parāmānik*. The *pārānik* is the principal assistant and representative of the *mānjhi*, by whom he is originally chosen, *i.e.*, when a village is founded. If the *mānjhi* should abscond or die having no male issue or brothers in the village, the old rule is that the *pārānik* should be *mānjhi*. In his social functions the *mānjhi* is assisted by the *jog-mānjhi*, who acts as *custos morum* to the young people of the village, as the name implies, *jog* being of Sanskrit derivation and meaning practically *mores*. His duty is not to prevent sexual intercourse between the two sexes when unmarried (except when they are non-marrigeable relatives), but to see that no scandal arises. If a girl becomes pregnant, the *jog-mānjhi* has to find out who is responsible. If he does not, the village people take him to the *mānjhi's* cow-shed and tie him with a buffalo's rope to a pole, scold him and also fine him. If he knows the young man, he brings him before the *panchāyat*, who will deal with the culprit. During the *Sohrāe* festival the village boys and girls live for five days and nights with the *jog-mānjhi*, who is responsible for their behaviour. At the birth of a child and at marriages he is master of the ceremonies; he is also in a way responsible when the village youths attend certain night festivals which are always accompanied by revelry. Formerly the *jog-mānjhi* was stricter and had a very important position in the village. Now-a-days he has less authority, but the young people still use him as a safe depository of their secrets. If a girl has a liaison, she may, as a precaution, tell the *jog-mānjhi* of it in confidence and give him *hāndi* to purchase his silence. The young men also try to bribe him. The *jog-mānjhi* has an assistant called *jog-pārānik*, who officiates when he is absent.

The last secular village official is the *gorait*, or as he is styled by the Santāls the *godet* who acts as

the *mānjhi's* orderly, calls the villagers together at his command, and also collects sacrificial fowls for the village sacrifices. The *godet* has a peculiar reputation among the Santāls, because he is prone to misuse his position for his own benefit. They call him *marang mānjhi*, *i.e.*, the great chief, and there are many instances of *godets* having ousted a *mānjhi* or even a *pargana*. If a *pārānik* becomes *mānjhi*, it is considered proper that the *godet* should become *pārānik*. The *naeke* is the village priest who performs all the public sacrifices to the national godlings; and the *kudām naeke* (*kudām* means the back of a thing) is a subsidiary officer. Whenever the *naeke* performs a sacrifice, the *kudām naeke* has to offer rice dipped in his own blood (drawn by pricking with a thorn) to Pargana Bonga and the boundary *bongas*. He does the same when the villagers go hunting, in order to bring them luck and to ensure their safe return. This double set of village priests may perhaps point to different origin.

Every village official formerly held some land rent-free (*mān*), its area varying with the importance of the official and the size of the village. The *mānjhi* had four shares, the *pārānik* three shares, the *jog-mānjhi* two shares, and all others one share. The *mānlhi's mān* land was originally half a *rek* of rice land with a corresponding amount of higher land, about sufficient for one plough. It has now been assessed to rent, but is held by the *pradhān* as such, *i.e.*, by virtue of his position. If land is sold for arrears of rent the *mān* land cannot be sold, and when a man ceases to be *mānjhi* it passes to his successor, not his heirs. The *mān* land is now a kind of security for the zamīndār, ensuring the realization of his rents.

The *panchāyat* or committee of village elders is a cherished institution among the Santāls. The indigenous officials of a Santāl village described above are *ex-officio* members of the *panchāyat*; and every village has its council place (the *mānjhi thān*) where they assemble to discuss the affairs of the village and its inhabitants. All petty disputes, both of a civil and criminal nature, are settled there, but if the matter to be settled is of an immoral and shameful character, they go to the end of the village street or some other convenient place where they need not fear hurting the feelings of their womenkind. Those that are of too weighty a nature to be decided by the village assembly are referred to a *panchāyat* consisting of five neighbouring *mānjhis* under the control of the *parganait*. If this special council is unable to decide any matter, it is brought to the notice of a Government officer, but this is not *Panchāyats.*

the old custom. The *panchāyat* also disposes of all disputed social questions, such as disputes about marriage and inheritance, and punishes the guilty. This system of self-government constitutes a fair bond of union amongst the Santāls, who look with great suspicion on any measure calculated to destroy it.

OUTCASTING. For the excommunication of a man from Santāl society formal outcasting is necessary, and the act can only be performed by order of the people in council assembled. Outcasting is resorted to for breaches of either the endogamous or the exogamous law of the people, *i.e.*, for sexual intercourse with an non-Santāl or with a relative whom Santāl law has placed in the prohibitory table of kindred and affinity If any one commits such an offence, the chief of the 'village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them. If the charge is believed to be true, they warn the people of their respective villages not to eat or drink with the offenders and not to enter into marriage relations with them. The villagers cannot proceed further, and nothing more is done till the annual national hunt takes place in the hot weather. Here the matter is brought forward; if the people hold that the case is not proved, those who started the rumour are very severely punished. If it is proved, the people's assembly gives an order for outcasting, and they proceed to carry it out the day after the hunt. The *pargana* of the district and some other influential man are generally commissioned to superintend the operations, which are as follows.

In the early morning the males meet with flutes, drums, bows and arrows a short way beyond the end of the village street where the man lives. The young men compose extempore obscene songs in which he is mentioned by name and his sin satirically dilated on, while drumming is kept up so loudly that the din is heard for miles around. At a sign from the leader, the crowd with wild yells and uplifted hands, holding a bow or some other article, rush to the village drumming and blowing their flutes and singing obscene songs as they enter the street. If, however, the headman of the village meets the people at the street entrance with water in a *lotā*, the people will stop singing. When they reach the house of the offender, they take a pole, bamboo or the like, to which they have tied a short charred bit of firewood, a worn-out broom and some used-up leaf-plates, and fix it at the entrance to the courtyard. In the courtyard the people break the fireplaces, pots, etc., while the young men strip and commit nuisance in and round about

the house; one case is known in which it was upwards of two weeks before the place dried up properly. The scene is utterly revolting; so all women take good care to be outside the village when it takes place.

The persons outcasted are debarred from eating with others, and especially from getting their children married, and have to suffer a good deal, but not so much as might be expected. In addition to the offenders themselves, the parents on both sides should be outcasted; and if anyone receives the outcastes in his house, the whole household will suffer in the same way. The villagers have also to a certain extent to suffer with the outcasted ones, and therefore harass them in many ways so as to make them either run away or take steps to be taken into society again. Persons outcasted because they have had sexual intercourse with people of another race are not taken into society again, but leave the village. If relatives within the prohibited degrees have sexual intercourse, they will generally, if they fear detection, clear out before outcasting takes place and settle in a place where they are not known. This usually happens with people who have little property; most outcasted people who remain in their homes are well-to-do. Only the well-to-do can afford the luxury of being taken into society again. This is done by an act called *jām jāti* (literally eating so as to give *jāt*, *i.e.*, eating one's way back to the race). The procedure is as follows:—

The outcaste first gives up his old ways—this is a *sine quâ non*—then he provides the necessary funds. When he knows he has sufficient, he tells the *mānjhi*, who again informs the *pargana* of the district, and the latter makes it known to the *parganas* of twelve other districts, *i.e.*, virtually the whole country-side. A day is fixed for the ceremony, and the person who is to be readmitted prepares for a big feast. When everything is ready, the outcasted man goes out to the end of the village street with a twisted cloth round his neck (to show symbolically that he is willing to be led) and water in a *lotā*; he must look very miserable and downcast. The most venerable *pargana* present says to his colleagues and the village chiefs: "Come, let us comfort him; it is a pity to see him." He then leads them to the repentant sinner, who says: "Father, I have sinned grievously; I acknowledge my transgression. Have pity on me." The venerable *pargana*—formerly it was the privilege of a man of the Murmu sept—takes the *lotā* from the hands of the man, worships (*i.e.*, bows to) the sun, and says to the outcaste: "Since you have acknowledged your transgression, we do now take and carry all that for you." He then takes a little of the water and rinses his

mouth with it, and passes the *lotā* round to all the leading men, who do the same.

After this they enter the village and the courtyard of the outcaste who personally washes the feet of the leaders of the people. All then sit down in rows to eat, leaf plates being put before them; the outcaste serves them all personally, gives them rice and curry, and puts five rupees on the plate of every *pargana* and on that of the *mānjhi* of the village, and one rupee on the plate of every other *mānjhi*. After the feast the old *pargana* says: "From to-day we have taken this man into our society again; all pollution has been washed away. From to-day we shall drink a cup of water of his; we shall also smoke his tobacco pipe; we shall give him our daughters in marriage and also take his daughters for our sons; we have made everything clear and pure as percolated river water and spring water. If after to-day anyone talks about this matter or speaks evil, we shall fine him a hundred rupees and a feast for a hundred more." Thereupon they dig a small hole, in which they bury a lump of cow-dung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried for ever. Thus the man becomes a Santāl again.

VILLAGES. The Santāl village consists, as a rule, of a long straggling street with houses on either side. A village has also very frequently some *tolās* or hamlets, which are practically small separate villages, but all are under one *mānjhi*, though the *pārānik* will live in his separate *tolā*. The dwelling-houses are built in several ways. The old way is to bring nine poles and fix them in the ground, three at either side of the site selected and three in the middle to support the roof. The roof is made with rafters of *sāl* wood, over which bamboo saplings, climbers, etc., are tied, the whole being thatched with jungle-grass. Then the walls are made by fixing thin poles of any suitable material in the ground, tying them with cross saplings, finishing the whole off with a plaster of clay and cow-dung, and glossing it over with white earth. The roof of this kind of house is two-sided; another kind of roof is four-sided, in which case there are only two central poles. The sept and sub-sept to which a man belongs determine whether one or other of these two kinds of roof is used for the dwelling-houses that have a *bhitār*. If there is no *bhitār*, any roof will do. Now-a-days the walls are frequently made of mud dried in the sun, and well-to-do Santāls often build houses of a better kind, like those they see built by prosperous members of other races.

Inside every dwelling-house a Santāl partitions off with a low wall a small compartment in one corner; this is the so-called *bhitār*

the place where the ancestors are worshipped and also the *orak bonga*. Only certain persons outside the family are permitted to enter this place, and never any women other than those belonging to the house. In front of the house the eaves of the roof are generally elongated so as to form a kind of verandah. Well-to-do people, as a rule, have in front a partially walled-in verandah, which sometimes runs round the two sides. The floor of the house is always more or less raised above the ground, the space being filled up with earth firmly beaten down. Every house has one door, generally low but with a comparatively broad opening. The door itself is made, like the walls, of wattle and daub, and is tied with loops to the door-post on which it swings. It is seldom that a lock is used; generally the door is shut with a wooden bar. If the inmates go away for some time, they affix a thorn branch to the door. More modern houses have door-frames with wooden doors and padlocks.

The verandah is a receptacle for all kinds of miscellaneous articles. Here too the Santāls generally keep their *dhenki* (rice-husker) and their hand mill (*jānte*)—at least till they have some other house to set them up in. Inside the house itself they keep their paddy and other cereals, packed either in straw bundles (called *bandī*) or in gourds or earthenware pots, as well as their clothes and valuables. Generally the fireplace (made of earth, with one or more openings) is also here. Except when it is cold or raining, they do not live much inside the house; it is not pleasant, being filled with smoke and dark, as it has no window, but only one or two tiny smoke-holes. When it is cold, however, they seem to enjoy being smoked. The food is preferably prepared and also eaten inside, to ensure safety from the evil eye and other dangers. It is customary, especially in the modern mud-walled houses, to have a kind of narrow platform running round the sides and back of the house, which serves to strengthen the foundation. People may sit on this ledge; otherwise, one part of it is used for putting water-pots on. The latter are always kept outside, either here, or on a special structure (formerly always of wood) put up somewhere in the courtyard.

As soon as convenient and necessary, a Santāl will build one or more other houses round a square courtyard, which all the houses face, the only exception being the pig-sty, which is situated at the side or back of the houses and often has its door to the village street. A Santāl door never opens direct on the village street though it may face it, but then there is the courtyard between the house and the street. The second house erected is usually a cow-shed, built in the same way as a dwelling-house, but

frequently without solid walls. On the third side may come a house, with or without a *bhitār*, which is used for general purposes, as a kitchen, a married son's quarters, etc. On the fourth side there may be a second cowshed or goatshed, or a dwelling-house. Finally, a kind of wall may be put up joining the several houses, with an entrance from the street and an exit towards the fields, but this is considered advanced civilization. The courtyard is kept clean by smearing it with cow-dung. In the middle a pigeon-shed is frequently erected. It should be remarked that a Santāl often changes his dwelling-house site. If members of the family suffer much from fever or die from some infectious disease, it often happens that he gives up his old house altogether and builds a new one in some other place in the village, or moves away to some other village.

Mānjhithān and *jaherthān.* In the main street is the *mānjhithān*, which consists of a small mud mound, with a thatched roof over it, which is supported by five posts, one in the centre and four at each corner. Occasionally the *mānjhithān* is built with mud walls; and in some villages there is only a small mud mound with a central post. The latter seems to be indispensable. At the foot of the central post is a stone or roughly carved piece of wood, which is sacred to the spirits of former *mānjhis*, more especially the spirit of the first *mānjhi*, although the Santāls' ideas on the subject seem to make it possible to infer that it is the spirit of the mānjhiship in general. Frequently a second stone or head is seen beside the principal one; this is said to represent the wife of the old *mānjhi*, and some say the one is for Pilchū Harām, (probably the original *mānjhi*), the other for Mānjhi Harām. From the roof is suspended an earthen pot containing water for the spirits to drink. Here sacrifices are offered by the villagers, and here, as already mentioned, the elders meet to discuss village affairs and settle disputes.

On the outskirts of the village is the *jāher* or sacred grove. It should consist of trees belonging to the primeval forest, and a cluster of trees is always permitted to stand round it; but only five trees are essential, viz., four *sāl* trees and one *mahuā* tree. Three of the *sāl* trees must stand in one row; at the foot of each tree is one stone for each of the following gods:—Jahererā (the lady of the grove), Moreko and Marang Buru. A fourth *sāl* tree standing anywhere near has a stone for the Pargana Bonga, and at the foot of a *mahuā* tree is a stone for the Gosainera. The stones are said to be put in their places at the command of the gods themselves, who speak by the mouths of persons who are possessed by them for the purpose. This is done at the foundation

of a village, or when, as may happen though very seldom, the villagers for some reason give up the old and establish a new *jaher*. The gods of the *jaher* are national deities worshipped by all Santāls; and the sacrifices are performed by the village *naike*.

MYTHOLOGY.

The Santāl's tradition about the creation of the world and the origin of mankind is as follows. In the beginning there was only water, and below the water earth. Thākur Jiu created certain animals and fishes and then decided to create man. He made a pair of earth, but when he was going to give them souls the Day-horse came and kicked them to pieces. Thereupon Thākur decided first to make birds, and made the goose and the gander. He took them in his hands, and they looked most beautiful. So he breathed on them, and they became living beings and flew up into the air, but as they could nowhere find a resting place they came back and settled on Thākur's hand. Then the Day-horse came down along a gossamer thread to drink water; whilst he was doing this, some froth fell down from his mouth. It became foam, and the goose and the gander went along, using it as a boat. Then they implored Thākur to give them food, and he called successively on several animals (the alligator, the prawn, the *boār* fish and the crab) to bring up earth; but none of them succeeded, for the earth melted. Finally he called for the earthworm, who promised to do what was wanted if only the tortoise would stand on the water. This having been agreed to, the worm placed one end of his body on the back of the tortoise, and putting his mouth down started eating earth, which came out at the other end and settled on the back of the tortoise. Thākur harrowed this deposit, and from the earth thus coagulated mountains were formed. The foam above mentioned fastened itself to the earth, and in it Thākur sowed the seed of *sirom* (*Andropogon muricatus*) and other kinds of seeds.

The two birds made their nest in the *sirom*, and the goose laid two eggs, on which she sat whilst the gander brought her food. In the end a pair of human beings were hatched. Thākur now ordered the goose and gander to soak a piece of cotton, which he gave them, in their own food and press it out in the mouths of the children. In this way they were reared. When they grew big the birds did not know where to put them. Thākur ordered them to find a place; whereupon they found Hihīri-pipīri towards the west and took them there. There they grew up eating the seeds of the *sumtu bukuch* (*Eleusine ægyptica*, Pers.) and *sāmā* (*Panicum colonum*, L.). They were naked, but not ashamed and lived in great happiness. One day Litā came to them, announced himself

as their grandfather, and expressed his pleasure at finding them so happy. Still there was one great joy which they had not experienced; so he taught them to ferment liquor and to brew rice-beer. When all was ready, Litā said they should make a libation to Marang Buru and then drink. They did so, drank, became intoxicated and had intercourse with one another. The following morning Litā came and called out to them; but now their eyes were opened, they saw that they were naked and would not come out. Later on they made shirts of fig (*Ficus indica*) leaves to cover their nakedness.

The conception of the Creator (Thākur Jiu) in the mind of the modern Santāl appears to be that of a kind of bird. Thākur is undoubtedly the same word as *thakkura* found in very late Sanskrit, and the Santāls have probably borrowed the name from the Aryans. It is a custom of theirs to avoid, as much as possible, mentioning anybody's proper name, and they may have used this one to cover an older, now forgotten, name. A curious addition to the name of the Creator is Jiu, which means spirit. Litā is, according to the traditions, the real name of Marang Buru, and is preserved in the word *litā-ak*, meaning the rainbow.

The Santāls account for the division of mankind into different communities by a story that all men were brothers until Marang Buru created dissension among them. He arranged a race in which different representatives of mankind competed for the prizes he offered. The first prize was a large supply of cooked beef, the others were neither so large nor so good, and the last consisted of a little rice and milk. The strongest and swiftest runners carried off the beef and were the ancestors of the Santals; the hindmost, who got only the rice and milk, were Brāhmans. This division of mankind into different races took place in Sasanbedā. The traditions, if we are to judge from the expressions used, mix up the division of the human race into nations and of the ancestors of the Santāls into septs.

RELIGION. The basis of the Santāl religion is the belief that there are a number of *bongās* or evil spirits to whom the ills of human life are due, and that they must be appeased by blood offerings. Thākur, the supreme being and creator, however, is considered good. He gives rain and crops, etc., and is supposed to be well pleased with the Santāls as a general rule; it is only in times of famine that they are afraid that he is angry. But because he is good, it is not necessary to propitiate him. The Santāls all acknowledge that in the old days they had no *bongas* but worshipped Thākur alone,

and picked up their belief in *bongas* during their wanderings. They now frequently confuse the sun (Chando) with Thākur, but, says an old *guru*: "Thākur is different; he cannot be seen by mortal eye, but himself sees everything. He has created every being and everything; he sustains everything, and he feeds us all. It is he who brings us here, and he also takes us away. At the will of a *bonga* or man we are not born, neither do we depart. Thākur has given us a certain span of life; so long as that lasts, nobody can take us away. According to our lives here, either good or bad, such will be our lot at his command when we go to the other world." Although, however, Thākur is now often confused with the sun, it is admitted that he is not a *bonga*, as Chando the sun-god is. Thākur is still invoked by the Santāls on certain occasions, especially in their most solemn oaths, which are administered at the annual hunt, when the people have not been able to decide who is the rightful owner of any animal. Two arrows belonging to the contending parties are stuck in the ground by the *dihrí*, who invokes Thākur, saying: "Bābā Thākur of heaven, by thy grace we passed judgment, but these two were not satisfied. Thou fillest the whole heaven, Oh Thākur Father! As the judgement did not stand, we the people are without guilt. Now thou knowest the case of these two; do thou pronounce judgement!" The *dihri* then orders the two men to bow to the Day-god and each take up each his arrow, saying—"We are not responsible. Now each of you take up his arrow. Do not fear us, but fear Thākur." The words *Chando bonga samanre* are used in the law courts as an oath, but it is doubtful if it is a genuine Santāl oath, which generally has some symbolic action connected with it.

All the *bongas* except Chando Bonga are considered evil and have to be appeased with sacrifices of any of the following animals—fowls, sheep, goats or buffaloes—the selection depending on the particular sept and *bonga*. The sacrificial animal must be an uncastrated male or a virgin female, which has not had young or laid eggs, and the crucial part of the sacrifice is the giving of blood (*i.e.*, life). Those evil spirits which are common to all the Santāls—their national gods—are supposed to reside in the *jaherthān* or sacred grove, where their shrines consist merely of stones at the foot of *sāl* trees. Here they are propitiated by the men of the village, the sacrifices being performed by the village priest called *naeke* and by his assistant the *kudām naeke*. The former officiates at all the festivals, while the duty of the latter is to appease the *pargana bongas* and boundary *bongas* by scratching his arms till

they bleed, mixing the blood with rice and placing it in spots haunted by the demons.

The Santāls have a vague idea of life in a future world, called Hānāpurī, in which they locate both a heaven and a hell, the name meaning literally "that world," as opposed to Noāpurī or "this world." Their ideas about their state in the future world are rather confused, but apparently they believe that in heaven the good Santāl will live at his ease for ever, enjoying the tillage of his land, hunting, eating and drinking. Their conceptions about hell, and the punishments inflicted there, are curious. Whatever has been a man's besetting sin in this world, he will be eager to commit in the next, but without being able to gratify his desire. Those who have been addicted to stealing meat will have to walk about all day with some rotten meat on their heads; they inhale the horrid smell, but cannot eat. Those who die without paying their debts will be called upon to pay them there; as they have nothing to pay with, they will have their backs flayed and salt rubbed into the sore. Their hell is sometimes also called *ich-kund,* which means literally "excrement heap," or *narak kund*, *i.e.*, a place where wicked people have to live deep in night-soil. The spirits grind the bones of the dead, from which the bodies of children are formed. Men, however, can escape this task if they say they are preparing tobacco for chewing, and women if they are nursing babies. The entry of the spirits of the dead into the spirit world is facilitated and their comfort secured, if a man's left arm has marks burnt on it between the elbow and the wrist, and in the case of a female if her arms and chest are tattooed. It is said that if they have no *sika* (brand mark), a caterpillar as big as a log of wood will be plunged into their bosom in the other world. The *sika* is a national emblem with the Santāls, and the story sounds as if it had been invented to encourage the youngsters to stand the pain of getting the *sika*.

The head of the Santāl pantheon is Marang Buru. *Buru* means a mountain; but as every mountain is supposed to be the residence of some spirit, the word has come to be applied to a spirit. Thus, Marang Buru means great mountain, but is used as a *nomen appellativum* for the spirit of it: his real name, according to tradition, is Litā. The Santāls have a curious legend about him, somewhat like the account of the fall of the angels. They say that formerly all the *bongas* were the *godets* of God, *i.e.*, his messengers. One day some of them said: "We are doing all the work; we want to have the power also." They tried to

fight God, with the result that they were driven away from Thákur. They then came and settled down on all the hills and other places on earth. Their leader was Marang Buru; and now they are evil spirits, the enemies of God and man, held in great fear but also in contempt.

Other popular deities are Moreko Turuiko (literally the five-six), who is worshipped as one deity but is addressed in the plural, Jaherera the goddess of the sacred grove, Gosainera, Pargana Bonga, who have power over witches, and Mānjhi Bonga, *i.e.*, the spirits of dead *mānjhis*. All are malignant and destructive spirits with ill-defined attributes; all are worshipped in public in the sacred grove or near some water; and in all cases there is no worship without sacrifice. Marang Buru is also worshipped privately in the family and Mānjhi Bonga at the *mānjhithān*. Here the village priest smears red paint on the block of wood or stone in its centre and makes a libation of the home-brewed beer called *hāndi*. A fowl and a goat are beheaded, and their flesh is eaten by the villagers. There are also boundary gods called Sima Bonga, which are propitiated twice a year at times of sowing and reaping, when sacrifices of fowls are offered at the village boundary. Another interesting sacrifice is that called *Jom-sim*, which, according to tradition, was originally a sacrifice only to the sun; but in course of time the Santāls got separate Jom-sim Bongas; so now at the *Jom-sim* the sun (Sing Bonga) receives the sacrifice of a goat, and the special Jom-sim Bonga that of a goat or a ram. The *Jom-sim* is performed with many quaint ceremonies, which differ somewhat for the different septs. It is in certain respects the most important sacrifice the Santāls have, and probably the oldest, for it has more aboriginal features in it than any other sacrifice of theirs. The *Kutām-dangrā* (literally the felled bullock) regularly comes after the *Jom-sim*, but may also be performed separately after a vow. One ox is sacrificed (by felling) to the ancestors, one ox is sacrificed to the household god, and one to Marang Buru (both by beheading).

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak Bonga or household god and the Abge Bonga or secret god. The names of these gods are kept secret by the Santāl till just before his death, when he whispers them to his eldest son. The object of this secrecy is to avoid incurring the jealousy of the other spirits by letting them know which spirit is preferred by the family. Men are particularly careful to keep this secret from women, for fear that one of them should get hold of the Abge Bongas, who are supposed to protect their houses against

sickness, danger and witches. The idea is that she would seduce the *bonga*, he would do her will, and there would be no possibility of escape from the calamities which would inevitably ensue.

When sacrifices are offered to the Orak Bongas, the whole family partakes of the offerings, but only men may touch food that has been laid before the Abge Bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year, but there is no fixed date, each man performing them when it suits his convenience. The Abge sacrifice is performed outside the village, only male relatives being present. What is left of the sacrifice is burnt on the spot.

Mak-More is an occasional sacrifice performed as the result of a vow made at a time of great distress, *e.g.*, during epidemics. When it is performed goats and fowls are sacrificed to all the national *bongas* in the *jaher*. After the sacrifice the animals are eaten by the men alone, the only exception being the wife of the *naeke* who gets a share. The sacrifice is followed by dancing and singing.

The religion of the Santāls is essentially a man's religion. Women are not allowed to be present at sacrifices except when they are offered in the house to the ancestors and family gods, and then only if there are no men to help the sacrificer. When a sacrifice takes place in the holy grove they may not eat the flesh of the offering, the men burning what they do not eat. This prohibition does not apply in the case of animals sacrificed to the ancestors and family gods, except that women may not eat the flesh of an animal sacrificed to Marang Buru or the head of any animal: the latter is cooked with rice and eaten by the men. On the other hand, when the sacrifice is offered in the holy grove, only the village priest can eat the head. No woman is permitted to climb the consecrated trees in the holy grove, and no woman belonging to another household—in most cases not even a daughter of the house, if she is or has been married—is allowed to enter the *bhitār*, a small closet inside the house partitioned off by a low wall, where the family gods and ancestors are supposed to reside, and where offerings are made to them and to Marang Buru. If any one breaks either of these rules, sacrifices must be offered to appease the offended *bongas*, who otherwise will revenge themselves by sending sickness and death on their worshippers.*

Human sacrifices used to be offered to Buru-Bonga, and Sir Herbert Risley states in the *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* that actual instances had been mentioned to him of "people being kidnapped

*P. O. Bodding, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santāls*, J.A.S.B., Part III, 1898.

and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen of communes or villages who hoped in this way to gain great riches or to win some specially coveted private revenge." One authentic case of human sacrifice, which took place in 1871, may be mentioned. A Santāl, called Limbu Mānjhi, having suffered for a long time from a painful illness without finding a remedy, decoyed a stranger, who was staying in his house, to a lonely hillock, and there, with the assistance of three others, offered him as a human sacrifice to relieve his own disease. The victim was first gagged and bound with his own cloth, and a small quantity of hair shaved from his head with a razor, which Limbu had brought with him. Then a Pahāria, who was one of the party, commenced a *pūjā*, with *ghī*, *arwā* rice and *sindur*, while the three Santāls tied a rope of twisted creeper or *chob* round the victim's neck, and fastened it to a branch of a tree. When the *pūjā* was over Limbu unfastened the gag, saying that it was not proper for the man to die with a cloth over his face. The other two Santāls then seized the victim's legs, and held him up, while Limbu struck off his head with two blows of a sword.

WITCHCRAFT.

The Santāl has an inveterate dread of the evil eye and of witches who are supposed to have intercourse with the *bongas* and to have power to kill people by eating their entrails, to cause illness, blights, murrain, etc. On this subject Mr. Bodding writes:—"A most interesting book might be written on the witches, their supposed origin, their doings, etc., and how the Santāls try to guard themselves against them, although their own traditions maintain that the witches always blind the witch-finders, so that they will never be able to tell the right woman. I believe it is a mistake to pay no attention to this belief of the Santāls. It is not nonsense pure and simple, when every Santāl fears witches. They have some reason for their belief. It is a fact that there are witches among the Santāls, viz., women who meet in secret in the dead of night at certain fixed places, generally on the Sunday night nearest to a new moon, who have their peculiar secret songs and *mantras*, who perform sacrifices, and who also try to kill people by magic very much in the same way as the old witches of Europe tried to. Sometimes they do it by drawing a picture of the person to be killed and then doing the killing *in effigie*; sometimes they bury *bongas* in places, expecting them to do what is wanted; often they bury a tuft of hair with *sindur*, etc.

"It is, of course, out of the question that they can do anything by magic, although they themselves may believe so; but they can do a great deal by suggestion and by keeping people in fear; and I

have no doubt that they know some vegetable poisons which they administer themselves or by proxy. It is significant that in one of their *mantras* they mention *Kambru guru*, who is the old *guru* of the medicine men (*ojhās*). That witches are found, I believe, may to some extent be accounted for by the peculiarity of the Santāl religion as essentially a man's religion. The women are not permitted to approach any deity themselves; it has all to be done through the men. The two sexes have not much confidence in each other; on the contrary, the male and female sections of the community live their lives rather separate from one another, the one not having the courage or the inclination to trust the other. Now the women want, just as much as the men, to have an opportunity—for good or for evil—for direct appeal to the supernatural. It cannot be done in public or with the consent of the men; hence it must be done in secret, if it is to be done at all. I cannot say for certain, but I am inclined to think that we have here an explanation of much witchcraft. It is a secret practice of religion, but like most secret things it is liable to develop into bad practices."

The Santāls call a witch a *dan*, a word which, though Hindī, has come from Sanskrit. They have several methods of witch-finding, and go to work in a very deliberate manner. If a person is ill and does not get well in a couple of days, an *ojhā* is called in. He proceeds to divine with the help of oil and two *sāl* leaves, marking the different parts of the leaf, one "house" (place) in it meaning a *bonga*, etc., and one a witch. Then oil is applied, and, muttering a *mantra*, the *ojhā* rubs the leaves together. If the oil and dirt show up in the "house" of witches, the villagers act upon the knowledge thus imparted. In the evening all the people, with the *mānjhi* at their head, walk through the street, calling out that such and such a person is ill, and if he does not recover they will not call "her" (*i.e.*, the witch) good. If after this the sick person does not recover, *i.e.*, if the witch does not obey, the headman sends pairs of men to the different *ojhās* in the vicinity to verify the divination. If three *ojhās* confirm it, its truth is considered certain; if not, they go on till they get enough divinations to support the first verdict. No one has really any doubt of its truth; it is merely desired to secure a kind of moral support.

The next step is to locate the witch. This is done by the people fixing fresh branches in the ground and then observing which branch first withers. In order to be fair to the witches, another test is made. A large number of branches are put in the ground, first one as a witness on the part of the sun-god (Sing

Bonga), one for the Orak Bonga of the sick person, one for the *bonga* of the wife's father, one for the male relatives, etc., one for disease, and one for each house in the village. The branches are smeared with *sindur*, Sing Bonga is invoked, and after some hours they come back to see which branches have withered. To make quite sure, the test is repeated at other places outside the village boundary. The same object is also attained by putting a leaf with rice in a white-ant hill and observing which is first touched by the ants.

The sick man is now asked whether he wants the investigation to go on. If so, they go to the *Jān* (*i.e.* the man who knows), who is supposed to be able to tell the name of the witch by revelation. The Santāls imagine that they test the ability of the *Jān*, and they act upon his declaration when he names anybody. "As a matter of fact," writes Mr. Bodding, "all *Jāns* are unmitigated scoundrels, who through spies get all necessary information respecting the sick and the suspected, so as to be able to denounce any one they like. They are responsible for much misery and many crimes. A witch may be beaten to death ; formerly she was certain of being driven away from her home in a horribly degrading way." Various attempts have been made to stop such murders, one curious device being employed by a former Assistant Commissioner. Whenever he heard that women had been denounced, he brought out a galvanic battery. The girl was told to hold the handles, but the electric current was disconnected. Her accusers were next told to do the same, and, the current being turned on, received a good shock, remaining prisoners until they acknowledged that they had made a mistake. The Santāls still cling to their belief in witches, and not a year passes without some poor woman being convicted and killed for the mysterious mischief she is supposed to have done.

The custom of taboo is common among the Santāls. Names TABOO. are tabooed in the cases of (1) a man and his younger brother's wife, (2) a man and his wife's younger brother's wife, (3) a woman and her younger sister's husband, and (4) a woman and her younger brother's wife. Husband and wife are also prohibited from mentioning each other's names, not only when they are speaking of or to each other but also if they are speaking of another person bearing the same name. This custom is strictly observed, and in the case of brothers and sisters-in-law a breach of it is considered a sin which will be punished both in this world and the next. The Santāls also taboo the totems which have given names to their septs and sub-septs. For instance, the

Mal Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *panchāyat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saren may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mālā* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. The Sankh-Saren may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments, and are forbidden to eat, carry, cut or use shells. The custom of taboo also prevents women joining in religious ceremonies.*

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC.

There is a curious practice of sympathetic magic in connection with the annual national hunt of the Santāls, which is presided over by a master of the hunt called the *dihri*. The *dihri* is responsible for the hunt, *i.e.*, that all goes well and no calamity happens. He himself seeks by divination to find out who are threatened by any danger during its continuance, and advises them to turn back; but they generally make him sacrifice fowls for them to Sing Bonga to avert the calamity. He further performs sacrifices to the *bongas* of the forest where the hunt is held, to ensure success and safety. The wife of the *dihri* is also held responsible. She must remain at home absolutely quiet, doing nothing and harbouring only pure thoughts; and she has to remain in this state till she knows that the men have had success or something has happened. She looks into a cup of water; if she sees this turn to blood, she knows that blood has flown, *i.e.*, an animal has been killed, and she is released. Otherwise she must wait till she can calculate that they have reached the place of meeting. In the same way the *dihri* must not touch any food till an animal has been shot or wounded. If there is any disaster, the people will accuse the *dihri* of being responsible, and the latter will accuse his wife, holding that she must have misbehaved in some way.

FESTIVALS.

Sohrāe.

In the Santāl villages there is a succession of festivals throughout the year, nearly all connected with agricultural operations. The chief of these is the *Sohrāe* or harvest festival, celebrated in Pus (December-January) after the rice crop of the year has been harvested. It used to be celebrated in the month of Asin, for formerly they had gathered their principal crop by that time. The Santāls, indeed, still call Asin the month of *Sohrāe*—a name probably corrupted from Dasaharā. When the day has been fixed, all houses prepare beer (*hāndi*) and invite their relatives, especially daughters, sisters, etc. The night before the festival

* The Revd. P. O. Bodding, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santāls*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1898; *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 228.

commences, the *naeke* is religiously abstinent—for before any sacrifice the sacrificer must not have relations with a woman and sleeps on the ground on a mat. As soon as it is day, the *godet* goes round and collects sacrificial fowls from every house. In the middle of the forenoon the *naeke* goes somewhere near water, together with some of the village people, the *godet* taking the fowls with him. The *naeke* bathes and then sacrifices the fowls to the different *bongas*, after which the men of the village cook the fowls with rice and eat them; they also drink *hāndi*. The *mānjhi* then harangues the people, telling them that they must not touch forbidden fruit. They answer:—"We stop our ears with twelve balls of cotton, and we will not pay heed to any matter, be it great or small." In other words, they agree to throw off all moral restraint for the five days of the festival.

After this they call the cowboys with the cattle and make the latter tread out sacrificial magic circles. The cow which treads on and breaks an egg placed here, or simply smells at it, is caught; they wash her feet, anoint her horns with oil, and also smear *sindur* on them; for the owner of the cow will have good luck. The cowherd is lifted up and put down before the *mānjhi*, whom he salutes, and after him all old men. The following days are days of continued revelry wherein all participate; old people drink, young people drink, dance and are generally immoral, the idea being that all shall be glad.

On the first night the young people go from cowshed to cowshed, singing and drumming to "bless" the cattle. The next day all the men go with their plough-yokes, battle-axes and knives to bathe, and in every house they sacrifice pigs and fowls to Marang Buru, the household gods and their ancestors. The third day they set up poles in the village street, and having tied the cattle to them tease and excite the animals and make them furious. Friends come and go visiting one another, all more or less drunk and wild with excitement. After all is over, the young people drink and eat in the house of the *jog-mānjhi*. This beer-drinking readmits them into caste, licentiousness ceases, and the closed ears of the people are opened. They go through the village street beating a branch to drive *dardaha* (the glutton) away; for from this time onwards the people must cease to eat according to their heart's desire, and hard life recommences.

For the five days and nights during which the festival lasts the Santâls indulge in a veritable saturnalia, giving themselves up to dancing, eating, drinking, singing and sexual license. This license, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it sanction

intercourse between persons of the same sept; but if the latter offence is committed, it is punished less severely than at other times. Formerly the *Sohrāe* was held at different dates in each village, with the result that debauchery and drunkenness were indulged in for weeks at a time, but this has now been stopped by an order that the festival must be held at the same time in each village. This order is not always observed, for if a person dies, or a child is born in the village, *Sohrāe* must be postponed till the village is purified.

Sakrāt. Close upon *Sohrāe* comes *Sakrāt*, which is held on the last day in the month of Pus. The previous day they catch fish, and on the day of *Sakrāt* itself the men go out hunting while the women make parched rice and cakes which the men offer to the ancestors. In the afternoon the *jog-mānjhi* collects the men to shoot at a target, after which they dance a war dance and have various kinds of amusements. The day ends with drinking and dancing.

Bahā. Next in importance to the *Sohrāe* is the *Bahā Parab*, which is held in Phālgun (February-March). The *Bahā* (literally flower) festival celebrates the fact that the new year is well commenced. It is characterized by frolic and gladness, drinking, dancing and eating; but it is not such a time of revelry as the *Sohrāe*. During it fowls are sacrificed in the *jaher* to all the national deities. On the first day of the festival the young people of the village build two sheds in the *jaher*, one for Jahererā, Moreko and Marang Buru, and the other for Gosainera; and the *thāns* are cleansed by a plastering of cow-dung. Then they go to bathe, and oil several articles (winnowing-fan, basket, bow and arrow, battle-axe, broom, a wristlet, a necklace, a bell and a horn) which are to be used next day, when three persons become "possessed" by the three first *bongas* mentioned above. The whole night is spent in drumming at the house of the *naeke*, where all assemble with the three *bongas*—for the persons possessed are addressed as *bongas*. Jahererā—the goddess is a female, but a man is possessed—takes the ornaments, the basket and the broom; Moreko takes the bow and arrow and Marang Buru carries the battle-axe. With these articles they start running for the *jaher* followed by the boys. On arriving at the *jaher*, Jahererā sweeps the *thāns*; the *naeke* asks the *bongas*, *i.e.*, those personating the gods, for the things they have brought, and places them on a mat. He next proceeds to ask them questions, a proceeding which probably was originally an attempt to find out something about the coming year. The *naeke* then washes the *bongas* and throws the surplus water over them, whereupon the

bongas jump up howling. After this Jaherera commences washing, and finally they return to the village.

Next day they start again, as on the first day, for the *jaher*, the *bongas* carrying the same things. When they see a fine *sāl* tree in bloom, Moreko shoots an arrow into it, while Marang Buru climbs it and cuts down the flowering branches, Jaherera receiving the flowers in a basket. On the road Marang Buru gathers *mahuā* blossoms. In the *jaher* the *bongas* are again placed on a mat under the shed, and the *naeke*, sitting in front of them, sacrifices the fowls, and places a bunch of flowers and a *mahuā* blossom before each *bonga*. The *bongas* suck the blood of the fowls, whereupon the *naeke* washes their feet, Jaherera doing the same to the *naeke*. The *naeke*, together with his wife, who is now brought to the *jaher* for the purpose, eats one of the fowls cooked with rice; some of the villagers eat the rest in the *jaher*. After this all leave, except the *naeke*, who remains alone in the *jaher*. The villagers then proceed to sacrifice fowls and pigs in their own houses, and to eat and drink. In the afternoon they go to the *jaher* to bring the *naeke* back in state, and the rest of the day is spent in general merry-making. During this festival the women enjoy themselves to their heart's content, drenching one another with water from the jars they carry.

Erok-sim.

Erok-sim is the sowing festival celebrated in Asārh (June-July). *Erok-sim*, *Sohrāe* and *Bahā* are the only festivals at which the whole village perform sacrifices publicly as well as in their houses. At the other festivals the *naeke* alone sacrifices on behalf of the village.

Jātrā Parab.

The *Jātrā Parab* is a festival borrowed from the Bhuiyās by the Santāls, which is performed here and there but is not properly a Santāl village festival. It is held in January or February and is marked by the sacrifice of a pigeon and a goat. While these are being offered the *chatyas*, or oracles of the god, three or five in number, sit close by and work themselves into a prophetic frenzy. Any Santāl who consults them can learn the future or the causes of ill fortune, such as his own illness, the death of his cattle, etc. This festival is also the occasion of a fair, at which there is a merry-go-round, similar to that used by the Nepalese. It consists of a strong circular framework, suspended between two high posts, in which seats are placed and made to revolve.

Patā and Chatā.

At the *Patā* festival, which is held in the rains in honour of Patā Bonga, the same sacrifices are offered as at the *Jātrā Parab*. It is really a Hindu festival in honour of Mahādeo (Siva),

much frequented by Santāls. The *Chatā Parab* (a corrupt form of the Hindu *Charak Pūjā*) is observed on some day in Baisākh. Formerly the Santāls used to be suspended from a high revolving pole by hooks inserted in their back and swung round and round. The swinging apparatus still exists, but if anybody swings he is suspended by ropes not by hooks. Both the festivals are times of revelry, during which the young people, Santāls and Hindus, spend one night in gross immorality.

Other festivals. Other festivals are as follows :—*Hariar-sim*, the feast of the sprouting of the rice is held in Sān, *i.e.*, Srāban (July-August). *Irigundli-nawāi*, *i.e.*, the offering of the first fruits of the millets called *iri* (*Panicum miliaceum*) and *gundli* (*Panicum frumentaceum*), is held in Bhādra (August-September). *Janthar Pūjā* is held in Aghan (November-December) to celebrate the first fruits of the winter rice crop. A pig or a ram is sacrificed in the *Pargana thān* of the *jaher* by the *kudām naeke*: the animal is eaten by the men alone. The *naeke* and the villagers offer at this time the first fruits of the paddy.

Māgh-sim is held in the month of Māgh (January-February) when the jungle grass is cut: fowls are sacrificed to all *bongas* by the *naeke*, but not in the *jaher*. This last festival marks the end of the Santāl year. Servants are paid their wages, and fresh engagements are entered into. All the village officials, the *mānjhi*, *pārānik*, *jog-mānjhi*, *godet*, *naeke* and *kudām naeke* go through the form of resigning their appointments, and the cultivators give notice of giving up their lands. After ten days or so the *mānjhi* calls the villagers together and says he has changed his mind and will stay on as *mānjhi* if they will have him. His offer is accompanied with free drinks of rice beer, and is carried by acclamation. One by one the other officials do the same; the ryots follow suit and, after much beer has been consumed, the affairs of the village go on as they did before.

BIRTH AND BIRTH CEREMONIES. When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut with an arrow, and the placenta buried in the floor inside the house. The house and village become religiously unclean. No sacrifice, and consequently no festival, can be held in the village, and no one can go and eat in the house where the birth has taken place till they are purified by the *janam chhatiār* ceremony. The procedure is as follows. All the males of the village are shaved in the house of birth, first the *naeke*, then the *kudām naeke*, then the *mānjhi* and other officials, and, last of all, the father of the child. Then the child is brought out by the midwife, who has two small leaf cups, one filled with water and the other empty. The head

of the child having been shaved, the midwife puts the hair in the empty cup and ties two threads to the arrow with which the umbilical cord was cut. Then the men, led by the father, go to bathe at the place whence water is fetched: when they return, the midwife takes the women to the same place, carrying with her oil and turmeric, the arrow and the hair. The midwife throws the hair with one of the two threads into the water after having made five *sindur* marks at the spot. This is called "buying the watering place." When they have finished they return, the midwife last of all, bringing back with her the other thread and the arrow. This second thread is soaked in turmeric and then tied round the waist of the child. After this the mother sits under the eaves of the house with the child in her lap and also some leaves of the *atnak* tree (*Terminalia tomentosa*).

The midwife then kneads some cow-dung with water on the eaves of the house, lets some of the mixture drip down on the mother, smears a little on her own head and also sucks a little of the same stuff. The mother now puts her child on a *chārpāi* inside the house, and the midwife proceeds to mix flour with water in three leaf cups. The contents of one she sprinkles on the legs of the *chārpāi*; the contents of a second she sprinkles on the breast of the *naeke*, *kudām naeke*, *mānjhi* and other officials, and thereafter on the breasts of all the men of the village. The last cup is for the women, who are sprinkled in the same order, first the *naeke's* wife, then the *kudām naeke's* wife and so on.

The father and mother having decided (inside the house) what name is to be given to the child, the midwife comes out, salutes all those present and announces the name, saying: "From to-day call him at the hunt by this name;" or, in the case of a girl, "Come, so-and-so, if you are going to fetch water." Then they bring out rice soup cooked with *nīm* leaves, giving it to the *naeke*, the *kudām naeke* and so on, according to the table of *chhatiār* precedence, and, after the men have been served, to the women. After five days the child is shaved again. This ceremony of *janam chhatiār* is regarded as giving the child a place amongst human beings. The important part which the women play in it may be noted: they are the real actors.

Janam chhatiār is, as a rule, celebrated in the case of a male child five days and in case of a girl three days after birth. It may be postponed, but is always celebrated on uneven days (*e.g.*, the seventh) after the birth. If, however, the child is born within three days before a new moon, it receives its name earlier, and even on the day of birth, the belief being that to give a child its

name in another month than that in which it was born will bring misfortune of some kind upon it, especially when he or she is married. The eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather; a second son that of his maternal grandfather; a third son that of the paternal grandfather's brother; the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being taken in the same order. This custom is rigorously observed, there being only two exceptions. If the father is a *ghardi jawāe* (*vide infra*), the name of the maternal grandfather or grandmother is given first; and if a woman takes medicine to get children—a rather frequent practice—the child receives the name of the man who gave the medicine or of his wife.

There is a curious practice of giving a child two names, viz., its real (*mūl*) name, and a second (*bahnā*) name, by which it is always known. This practice is especially observed when the child is named after a relative whose name it would be improper for some members of the family to mention. If the namesake has had two names, the child generally gets both; if there is something peculiar or abnormal about him, he is very soon known by a name denoting this peculiarity. The Santāls are reluctant to mention the real name of any person, fearing it may bring about something untoward. Many persons, however, have only one name.

Chacho chhatiār.

To enable anybody to take his place in Santāl society and participate in its rights, rules, ceremonies, etc., they have another ceremony called *chacho chhatiār* (*chacho* meaning to toddle or walk). Without having been through this no one can be married and no one can be cremated, but has to be buried. There is no age fixed for this ceremony; only it must precede marriage. If a man has several children he tries to have it at one and the same time for all of them. The procedure is as follows:—The father brews *hāndi* and provides oil and turmeric for the villagers. When the *hāndi* is ready he calls the *mānjhi* and *pārānik* in the morning and gives them a drink They ask him what *hāndi* it is, and, after drinking, the headman bids the *godet* call the villagers together. When they have come, the girls of the village anoint the *naeke* and his wife, who sit on a mat, with oil and turmeric; next the *kudām naeke* and his wife, then the *mānjhi* and his wife and all the officials in the same order as at the *janam chhatiār*; last of all, all the women are anointed. The *hāndi* is now served in leaf cups to the *mānjhi* and *pārānik* and then to the other people; after which all are ready for further proceedings. They ask how many children the *hāndi*

is for, and for each child four small leaf cups are given to all those present. Then they ask the father: "How many *iri* (*Panicum crus-galli*) and how many *ebra* (*Setaria Italica*) ears have ripened for you?" This is a figurative expression for "How many boys and girls have you?" On receiving an answer they ask again: "Where is the land?" The father tells them where the namesakes of the children live, whereupen they call for "namesake *hāndi*," *i.e.*, beer which the namesakes present have brought with them. The people then sing a special song and dance and drink.

A *guru*, who in a way officiates for the father of the family, now starts the *binti*, *i.e.*, a mythical historical recitation. He begins with the creation of the earth and relates the Santâl history of mankind, their wanderings, etc., according to tradition, and recounts how their ancestors spread abroad, some of them coming to Sikhar, where the first *pargana* was Hikim, who said to the people: "Let us settle here; we have found primeval forest and virgin soil." The ancestors said: "Let us help him; we will burn and clear jungle, we will live and prosper." Then they came to their present abode and married, cleared jungle and multiplied. Thereupon the *guru* on behalf of the family enters into a colloquy with the people, in which *inter alia* he says—"We implore you to let us be with you to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of *chhatiār*, the day of cremation. We were like crows, we are become white like paddy birds. You, villagers, be our witnesses." This ends the formal part of the proceedings.

The festival is concluded by further drinking and singing of *chhatiār* and other songs. It will be seen that there is no special or formal act done by the village people. They are invited for the occasion; the father (or his representative) implores the community to recognize the young ones as participators at the three great social occasions, and the people acknowledge this by drinking *hāndi*, the Santâl mode of ratification. There is no kind of sacrifice at either *janam* or *chacho chhatiār*.

MARRIAGE.

Adult marriages are the rule among the Santâls, a young man generally marrying between the age of 18 and 22, *i.e.*, as soon as he can afford it after he has grown up. Until their insurrection in 1855 the Santāls did not marry before about 25 years of age, but now it very seldom happens that marriage is left till so late. Child-marriage is very rare, and is an innovation borrowed from the Hindus.

Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, except between members of the same sept; in such cases the guilty parties are outcasted. It is, however, rare for illegitimate children to be born, for if a girl becomes pregnant, the young man is bound to marry her or get her a husband, who acts as the child's father and gives it his sept. The regular Santāl name for all kinds of marriage is *baplā*, a word which very probably meant originally mutual strengthening, *i.e.*, of the two families. There are two essential features of the marriage ceremony. The first is *sindurdān*, *i.e.*, the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The bride is seated in a basket held up by her relations and the bridegroom, who applies the *sindur* and rides on the shoulders of one of his relations. The second is a meal in which the husband and wife eat together, for by so doing she passes to her husband's family. When the girl is unmarried, the binding ceremony is in all cases the *sindurdān*; but there is a difference in the methods in which *sindurdān* is reached. The following is a brief account of the latter.

Kiring-bahu. The most common form is that called *kiring-bahu*, *i.e.*, a bought daughter-in-law. The marriage is negotiated through a marriage-broker (*rāebār*), even if the parents on both sides arrange everything, as is sometimes the case when they are friends and desire the match. Anyone may be a marriage-broker, but an elderly man or woman is most often employed. The *rāebār* finds out where an eligible girl is, and arranges a day for the young man's friends to come and see the girl's house. On the way they look out very eagerly for good or bad omens, and will turn back if anything of ill omen occurs. On arriving at the girl's village the go-between gets hold of the *jog-mānjhi* and says to him that they have come to look at a vessel, and asks him to show them it. The girl is then produced walking between two other girls. If the bridegroom's friends are satisfied, they are sometimes invited to the girl's house for food and drink. Some time afterwards the girl's friends go in the same way to see the prospective bridegroom. Formerly it was not the custom to let the two see one another before marriage; now-a-days they are permitted a distant view of one another at a market-place or the like. When mutually satisfied the friends commence visiting and feasting one another, but not in a casual way, for every step is taken according to custom. The girl's friends come to see the house and door of the young man, *i.e.*, to ascertain his worldly means. Then follows betrothal; the bridegroom's friends go to the other

party and are feasted; the future father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh, and in this position puts a solid brass necklet on her and kisses her on her mouth. Henceforward the parents commence to salute each other in the manner appropriate to their new relationship, and also to use the plural in addressing one another. Afterwards a feast of the same kind is held in the young man's house.

Then comes the payment of the bride-price. For this a day is fixed, the date being remembered by knots on a string, one of which is untied every day. After many ceremonies at the bridegroom's house they proceed in state to the bride's house, where the bride-price is paid and there is feasting and drinking. Two rupees of the price are handed over to the *jog-mānjhi*, who gives them to the bride's father. This is called "track covering," and is one of the few features which may point to the original Santāl marriage being forcible abduction. The marriage takes place sometimes in the same year, sometimes the next or even later, and is performed with an astonishing amount of ceremonial and many quaint usages. The bride-price, which is paid by the bridegroom, is usually Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 or even Rs. 7. If more than Rs. 3 is paid, something is paid back in kind worth much more than the extra amount. The rule is that if Rs. 5 are paid a cow, a brass cup and clothes are given for the bridegroom, a goat for the bridegroom's friends and some rice; if Rs. 7, a cow with a calf, a brass cup, a brass plate and the other things above mentioned.

Ghardi-jawāe is the name given to the custom of obtaining a bride by service, just as Jacob served for Rachel. The bridegroom pays nothing for his bride, but lives with his father-in-law and works for him without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural implements, and sets up house for himself and his wife. This form of marriage is usual when a girl is deformed, ugly or unattractive, and also if a man has only daughters or grown-up daughters and infant sons. Only a poor Santāl will consent to becoming a bridegroom in this way. *Ghardi-jawāe.*

Kiring-jawāe, meaning a bought husband, is a form of marriage recognized when a girl has had an intrigue with or becomes pregnant by a man who cannot marry her because they both belong to the same sept. The rule is that, as he cannot marry her, he is bound to buy her a husband, whose consent is secured by giving him enough to make it worth his while. As a rule the name of the guilty man is kept secret, and the girl's father pays the bridegroom the money required, which he frequently gets *Kiring jawāe.*

from her lover. Rupees 20 are paid to the man willing to marry the girl, stand sponsor for the child, *i.e.*, cause *janam chhatiār* to be performed, and obtain for it admission to his sub-sept. Formerly the custom was to pay one pair of plough bullocks, a cow with a calf and one *bandi* of paddy (about 10 to 12 maunds).

Itut. There are two forms of marriage for young people who settle matters for themselves without intermediaries, viz., *itut* and *nir-bolok*. *Itut* means paint-smearing and is so called because the young man, when he gets an opportunity, smears some red paint or mud—anything will do—on the forehead of the girl with whom he is in love and thus claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations, if he is caught on the spot. The girl's people go to the young man's house, smash all the earthenware pots they find in or about the house, and break the fireplace. If they find the boy they tie him up, beat him till he is half dead and lay him on his back in the courtyard. Then they kill two goats with a *kāpi* or shoot with bow and arrow two pigs belonging to the offender. Next they go to the cattle shed and take away as bail about three pairs of the best bullocks or buffaloes they can find. After this they go to the *mānjhi* and sit in judgment on the case. Besides the two buffaloes or bullocks, they bring a goat belonging to the girl's family, and both parties eat the three animals together. The girl's father gets Rs. 16, and the headman of the young man's village Rs. 5 for "saving the boy's life." Cases have been known of boys being killed on such occasions, and such cases have not been taken up, the popular opinion being that the boy has got his deserts.

Itut is resorted to when the girl's parents are not agreeable to the match and the young people want to force their approval. In such cases the latter arrange matters beforehand, and as a rule their plans succeed; when all is settled, they are remarried in a regular way. In some cases, however, a young man will resort to *itut* when he has some doubts about being able to gain the girl he wants in the regular way. It also sometimes happens that a youth will do so simply to revenge himself on a girl, having no intention to keep her as his wife, but merely to have her divorced and stigmatised as divorced, for if the girl declines to live with him she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. On the whole *itut* is rare.

Nir-bolok. *Nir-bolok* (literally meaning "run in") is a form of marriage used when a girl takes the initiativ and is of two kinds. The

first takes place when a young man and a girl living in the same village have agreed to marry, but the former hesitates about the match. In this case, the girl goes to the *jog-mãnjhi* and reveals the secret to him, and he takes her to the house of the boy's parents. Two days afterwards the parents inform the *mãnjhi*, and they talk the matter over, temporarily separate the young couple, and end by having a regular marriage. The other kind of *nir-bolok* is resorted to when a young man, after living with a girl, refuses to marry her; then the girl forcibly enters his house and sits in a corner, whilst the future mother-in-law tries to drive her out by burning tobacco leaves. If the young man agrees to keep the girl, a marriage is arranged in the manner mentioned above; otherwise the villagers fine both, and he must give the girl Rs. 3.

There is another form of marriage called *tunki dipil baplā* (literally "carrying a basket-on-the-head-marriage"), which is the poor man's marriage. The girl is simply brought without any ceremony to the bridegroom's house, where *sindurdān* is performed. *Tunki dipil baplā.*

The form called *sanga* is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding portion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair. *Sanga.*

Widows are allowed to marry again, but the bride-price is only half that given for an unmarried girl. The reason for this is that the Santāls believe that after death a widow will rejoin her first husband, and her second husband will only enjoy her in this life. Bigamy is not uncommon, nor is it regarded as irregular, but few Santāls can afford more than one wife.

Fraternal polyandry is a recognized custom among the Santāls. There is sexual intercourse between a husband's younger brothers and his wife (*hili*), provided they show a certain amount of decency and do not make too open a display of their relations. According to the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, the younger brothers formerly enjoyed this privilege even after they were married, but at present the wife is usually common property only while they are unmarried. When an elder brother dies, his widow very frequently makes her home with one of the younger brothers as a kind of elder wife, and this almost invariably happens when the widow is left badly off. Similarly, a Santāl woman's younger sisters (*erwel kuriko*) have a share of her POLYANDRY.

husband's favours. It is, in fact, considered perfectly legitimate for a man to carry on an intrigue with his wife's younger sister, provided the girl is agreeable, the only condition being that if she becomes pregnant he must make her his wife. Such intimacy is not resented by his wife. On the contrary, she countenances and sometimes encourages it, though Santāl wives are usually extremely jealous. If taxed about it, she will often reply that it prevents her younger sister from having liaisons with other young men. It must not be supposed that such relations are universal. "All elder brothers do not submit tamely to their wives being enjoyed in common; all wives are not complacent, nor do all younger brothers and younger sisters conform to what is asked of them. Families often become divided in consequence of an indulgence in these practices, but the fact that they are recognized and form a part of the social system of the Santāl is incontestable."*

The elder brother has by no means the same privileges as younger brothers, a familiar saying being —"The younger brother's wife (*Bokot bahu*) is like a *bonga* or god." From the day of her marriage, a younger brother's wife and his elder brother (*dadat*) must never so much as touch one another; they cannot enter the same room or remain together in the courtyard unless others are present. Should she come in from work in the fields, and find the elder brother sitting alone in the courtyard, she must remain in the village street, or in another verandah of the house till some other people enter the house. She may not loosen or comb her hair before the elder brother; to do so would be considered highly improper, and would imply that the relations between them had become much too familiar. She cannot usually sit down in his presence, and it is most improper for her to take a seat on a *parkom* or bed while he is close by. Should it be necessary for her to sit down while he is near, she must use a *gando* or low stool.*

The following explanation by Mr. Bodding of the relations of brothers and their wives is of interest as illustrating the Santāl family life :—" The first thing to be taken into consideration is the basis of the Santāl matrimony, viz., the husband's rights of property. A Santāl buys his wife, or rather the father buys wives for his sons, if he is living; and that this is real business is shown by many circumstances, besides the fact that a bride-price is paid, of which I shall mention only one. When at the marriage the bride has been brought to her future home

* *Notes on fraternal polyandry among the Santāls*, by Mr. C. H. Craven and the Revd. L. O. Skrefsrud, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1903, pp. 88 90.

and her friends and relations are going to take leave, the *lumti budhi** says to her :—"Now remain, my girl; this is your house, this is the place where you shall go out and in. Eat and work industriously. Don't long for us; this is your house (or home) for life. Both bones and ashes did we sell you." The meaning of the last expression is that whether alive or dead she will thenceforth belong to and be the property of her husband.

"When she becomes the property of her husband, his younger brothers, because they stand in a quasi-filial relation to him, seem also to get some rights in her together with him. A result of this is probably the circumstance mentioned above that the younger brothers are allowed such liberties with the wife of the elder one, and another custom, that in case the elder brother dies, the younger brother—if he wishes, for it is not enforced—takes the widow as his wife (or co-wife, if he has one before), without, however, going through any marriage ceremonies. They have already paid for her, they say; she belongs to the family.

"Further, an elder brother, especially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father, and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are, in fact, some Santāls who look on the wife of their eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly. But it must be borne in mind that this is only individualistic and not the general custom. I mention it only to show the feelings of the better Santāls towards their elder brother, especially when there is some considerable difference in age between them. In case the father is dead, an elder brother manages the affairs of the household, and will have to buy the wife for his younger brother. The result of this position of an elder brother is that he is considered legally equal to a father-in-law of the wife of his younger brother."

The old *gurus* say that in the good old days only two causes brought about divorce, viz., unfaithfulness on the part of the wife and witchcraft. Now-a-days it is otherwise; if the married couple do not live peaceably, divorce is soon resorted to, and even a woman may demand divorce if the man takes another wife. If a woman is proved, to the satisfaction of the Santāl sense of justice, to be a witch, the proceedings are very simple. Without any ceremonies the husband, supported by the people of his village, takes the woman and makes her over to her parents or nearest male relatives, himself keeping all the children. The DIVORCE.

* The *lumti budhi* is the duenna who follows the bride to the house of the bridegroom, and is generally a relation of the bride's father, but other people may officiate as such.

bride-price is not paid back, and if there is a daughter the mother does not get the customary piece of cloth at the daughter's marriage. This kind of divorce is now nearly obsolete. The regular divorce (called *sakam arach, i.e.*, literally, leaf-tearing) is performed in the following way:—The villagers meet together, led by the *mānjhis* of the two villages concerned. A *lotā* with water is placed on the ground, and husband and wife are made to stand facing one another, one on each side of the *lotā*, the man facing the east. The headman of the husband's village then exhorts the man as follows:—"By the grace of Sing Bonga, the five mountain spirits and the ancestors, we, the people, took omens from the *urich* bird on the right side and the *ere* bird on the left, and tied you together and joined you together with marriage chains like the *lar* and the *bando* climbers (two large and strong forest vines). We did not join you together for one day, but for ever and aye, like stone and rock, till you became hoary and moss-grown. Now it is no fault of ours, but if you cannot be united, what can we the people do? Now, therefore, both of you think well and reflect carefully in your hearts; otherwise you may at some future day say that the people made you separate. You, if you really want to renounce her, call on Sing Bonga, the five mountain spirits and the ancestors, and tear the leaves, or else tear them not."

The man is then made to stand on his left leg, facing the sun and with his hands in a suppliant posture. Thereupon they give him three *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) leaves. He takes them and, with his cloth twisted round his neck, salutes Sing Bonga and tears the leaves with a jerk. Then he turns round and kicks the *lotā* over with his right foot, and renounces any further connection with the woman. The man salutes all those present, commencing with the *mānjhi*; the woman does the same. If the leaves are not torn straight, there is an idea that the pair will come together again. If all the water in the *lotā* is not spilt, the idea is the same; it is thought that there is probably still some love left. In any case, in spite of their being divorced in this world, they will meet again in the world to come.

The act just described is the final one. Before it is performed, they go through more or less protracted judicial proceedings with full settlement of the claims of the parties, the laws regulating which are briefly as follows. If a man divorces his wife for no fault of hers, he has to pay her divorce damages (*chhadaodi*)—now-a-days generally Rs. 5—besides which, he cannot claim to have the bride-price refunded. He has further to give the woman one cow, one *bandi* of paddy (about 12 maunds, valued at Rs. 5

according to the old price of paddy), one brass cup and one cloth. All this is now generally commuted to money and amounts to Rs. 7. The children belong to and go with the father, but if there is a babe at the breast, the mother keeps it till it can go to the father, when the woman, in return for her trouble in feeding and looking after it, gets 16 maunds of paddy and one cloth. If the mother has had special expenses caused by the child's illness, they are refunded to her.

If the woman is at fault, the man gets the bride-price repaid, and the woman gets nothing. If she has committed adultery, the co-respondent will have to pay double the bride-price and keep the woman, who is generally given into the man's custody by the *panchāyat*. If the man consents to keep his wife, he gets from the co respondent Rs. 5 "to cleanse the vessel," and Rs. 5 "to save the head, *i.e.*, life." Formerly the husband tracked the guilty pair down and killed them both.

If a man has taken a second wife, the first and real wife can demand divorce. Formerly a second wife was taken, with the consent of the first wife, only when the latter was barren or so feeble as not to be able to do her household work. The man in this case does not get any of the bride-price back, but has, on the contrary, to give his divorced wife something. Formerly he gave her a cow, a *bandi* of paddy, a cloth and a brass cup, and this custom is still kept up if the pair have after their marriage managed to acquire some property; otherwise the gift merely consists of Rs. 5 as damages, a cloth and a brass cup, the total value of which is about Rs. 7. At the time of divorce the people on both sides go very carefully into all the accounts, and the sum paid may in some cases be small or apparently very large.

The Santāls, like other tribes in the same state of development, look upon marriage as naturally necessary. The people always try to get their children married as soon as they can afford it, so as to get them settled in life. Practically the only unmarried people are those physically unfit for marriage—and it is no easy matter for them to be certified unfit. The young people are not permitted to make one another's acquaintance before marriage if they do not happen to know each other already. Love is not an essential thing in a Santāl marriage, and has nothing to do with the arrangement of a regular marriage. As a matter of fact, marriage is practically a leap into the dark, and it is a wonder that it turns out as well as it often does. It may, however, happen that the affections of one or other are already engaged, or become engaged later on, in a

MARRIAGE RELATIONS.

wrong quarter; or there may be incompatibility of temper. In these cases, if the man is at fault, the wife will be neglected, and as soon as she finds this out, she will run off to her old home. If the woman's affections have strayed, she will similarly seize the first opportunity to run home on the smallest pretext, for it will generally be found that she has a lover in or near her old village. If the married couple are not reconciled, a divorce will ensue within the first few years, but comparatively seldom afterwards. If they have got children, the chances are that they will become gradually attached, and a kind of genuine conjugal love may be found between old couples. If they have settled down quietly, conjugal fidelity is the rule; but in this respect the men are better than the women.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

When a Santāl is dying, the door of his house is kept open, in order that his spirit may leave it and not haunt the family residence. After death, the body is taken to a place where two roads meet, at the end of the village street, and is lamented over by the womenfolk. From this place it is taken to the place of burning, which is preferably the bank of a *bāndh* or pond belonging to the deceased; if there is no such *bāndh* or pond, then to the bank of a stream, for cremation always takes place near water. The pyre is built north and south, the logs being kept together by four poles, one at each corner, and the head being placed towards the south. Before the body is placed on the pyre, the male relatives of the deceased—for only the men come here—wash his hands, feet and face, and pour a little water in his mouth. Then he is carried thrice round the pyre and put on the top. The clothes and everything else that he had on his body are taken away, and also all the articles sent with the corpse, which are sold by auction later. The body is covered with a branch, and four pieces of wood are put across it. A fowl is taken round the pyre thrice, and is finally nailed to the south-west corner pole, *i.e.*, the pole at the left side of the head. Then the nearest relative takes a bit of sedge, wraps a bit of the fringe of the dead man's clothes round it, kindles it, and with averted face places it with the left hand on the mouth of the corpse. After this, all the relatives, and then the others, throw a branch of firewood on the pyre, and proceed to kindle it. The people sit at a distance and watch the body being consumed, and they are all shaved.

When the cremation is over, the relatives go and pick up the bones (a bit of the skull, of the collar bone and of one of the bigger bones), wash them, pouring turmeric, water and milk over them, and put them in a new pot. This is covered with a potsherd

with a hole in it (a breathing hole for the dead), in which they insert a special kind of grass for the spirit to go out and in on. The rest of the bones and the ashes are thrown into the water, a winnowing fan is placed upside down on the site of the pyre, and standing on this the carriers of the body dig round it, the last digger hacking at the fan. Cow-dung is then mixed with water in a cup, and the mixture sprinkled all over the place where the body has been. The pot with the bones is buried outside the village. Thereupon all bathe, and before they enter the village cense themselves with *sāl* resin. The articles sent with the dead body are auctioned off the same day, and from the proceeds a goat is bought and eaten by all except those belonging to the dead man's house. Now-a-days the men generally go and drink with the proceeds.

Five days afterwards there is a ceremony called *tel nahān*. The villagers assemble at the dead man's house and shave. Then they go and bathe, the men to one place, the women to another. The men take with them a little earth (used as soap), oilcake, oil, three *sāl* twigs (used as tooth-brushes) and a couple of leaves. The men put these at the water's edge on three separate leaves, and offer all with the left hand, first to the dead, then to Pilchū Harām and Pilchū Budhi. The last two are invoked to take the dead man under their care. Having returned to the house three persons are "possessed," one by the dead man, who is asked how he departed this world and declares whether he died a natural death or not. After this, there is some drinking. The bones are now brought, put into a bag made of the dead man's clothes, taken out by a couple of men and carried over the boundary of the village. They are then brought back, put into another pot and hung up in the house, to be taken later on to the Dāmodar river.

Whilst these men are away, the others sit down to eat; a leaf cup with rice, a cup with curry, and a third cup with water are hung in a sling close to where the person died. The people of the house pretend to eat with the left hand, a thing they never do ordinarily, for to use the left hand is considered the worst of bad manners. At this time the village people sprinkle water over their persons with a *khas-khas* rọọt; this purifies them religiously. Next morning they look to see whether the dead person has eaten the food hung up for him. If any remains of food are found, it is a sure sign that he has eaten; otherwise he has not. There is no fixed time for taking the bones to the Dāmodar river. It should strictly be done at once; but the distance to be traversed makes it difficult to do so. The journey is

therefore postponed to a convenient season, and till many can go together: generally, they go in December. Along the river there are several *ghāts*, where the relative who has brought the bones offers earth and tooth-brushes to the departed and to Pilchū Harām and Budhi, after he has thrown the bones, etc., into the river. He goes into deep water and, facing east, dives; whilst under the water he lets the bones go. The finale is the *bhandān*, a great feast with a sacrifice to the dead. When this is over, the mourners can resume their ordinary life; but till then they can neither sacrifice, nor use *sindur*, nor marry, etc.

INHERITANCE.

The family share all they have in common till the death of the father, when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. The daughters have no right to any of the property, the idea being that a woman does not inherit, for she is expected to marry and to be supported by her husband and her sons. What she gets is a gift, customary and therefore demandable, but it is not inherited. Lately, however, with the sanction of the courts, only daughters have been given a life tenure of the father's land, and this virtually means inheritance by daughters. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father, if he is alive, and if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father (not necessarily by the same mother); if the latter are dead, their sons will succeed. In default of these, the deceased's paternal uncles and their sons succeed. The widow of a childless man is allowed one calf, one *bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, one *bāti* and one cloth, and returns to her parents' house, unless, as sometimes happens, she is kept by her husband's younger brothers. If one of these keeps her, he is not allowed more than the one share of the deceased man's property, which he would get in any case. If a man leaves only daughters, their paternal grandfather and uncles take charge of them and of the widow, and the property remains in their possession. When the daughters grow up, it is the duty of these relatives to arrange marriages for them, and to give them at marriage the presents which they would have received from their father. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow gets the perquisites of a childless widow and goes to her father's house or lives with her daughters. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her own possession, the grandfather and uncles seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married, the grandfather and uncles take possession of all the property; the mother of the children has

no right to get anything, but sometimes a calf is given to her out of kindness, this gift being called *bhandkar*. There are special rules in cases where there is a son-in-law who has married under the *ghardi jawāe* form already described. If his wife has no brothers, and the son-in-law stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, then he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half of which goes to the relatives of the deceased. If there is more than one such son-in-law, they divide the property between them.

PARTITION. If there are many grandsons, or if the sons do not live happily together, especially if the father has married again and had other issue, the father and mother may make a partition. A *panchāyat* is called and the father divides all the land and cattle, keeping one share for himself. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their lifetime. Daughters get no share in the property, but if they are unmarried, they get one calf each, that being the dowry given them at marriage. Unmarried sons get a double share of the live stock, one share representing their marriage expenses. The cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers and brothers and from their fathers-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided, but the cattle which the sons got at marriage are divided. If a woman dies while her sons are unmarried, they cannot demand a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage. The father then gets one share and the sons one share each. If the second wife has no children' when the father dies, the sons of the first wife can take the share their father got, but if they take it they will have to pay for the funeral of their step-mother.

THE KHARWAR MOVEMENT. The most noticeable development among the Santāls during recent years is what is known as the Kharwār or Kherwār movement. It appears to have been first noticed in 1871, when its leader was one Bhagrit of Taldihā—the name appears to be a corruption of Bhagīrath, and the title of *bābāji* which he bore was also borrowed from the Hindus. From accounts given by Santāls at the present time the methods pursued by Bhagrit were as follows. In the early morning he gave audience; the people came to him, each bringing a leaf-cup full of sun-dried rice (not the ordinary rice boiled before husking), milk in a *lotā*, a bit of betel-nut and one pice. This was all placed before the *bābāji*, who listened to what they had to say, but kept quiet till all had put in their petitions. Bhagrit would then harangue them much as follows:—"You have now brought your

petitions to me; I shall lay them before God (Chando). All will be well with anyone whose petition pleases God; if it does not, he must come again. Come twice, thrice, or even oftener; make your petitions to me, and I shall pray to Him for you. You must also continue to pray to Him, and then you will reap the benefit. If anyone is in serious trouble, he must keep watch throughout the night."

The following morning, before sunrise, he asked the people whether they had kept watch. If they said that they had slept, he scolded them, saying that they had come only to eat. If they said they had watched, he asked them whether they had seen Chando come down and heard him talk with Bhagrit. This, of course, was news to them, and they were treated to a new harangue, Bhagrit charging them with lying and telling them that it was their own fault that they got no help. Then he started preaching to them, the subject matter of his address being very much the same as that of the ten commandments of the Christians. He charged them to live by his precepts and not to let evil come into their lives, otherwise they would not get God's blessing.

As time went on, his style of preaching was somewhat altered, probably because the people did not attain their wishes, and the attendance fell off. He had to find something to explain the one and counteract the other. He now said that all evil had to be purged out, and all should come to him with one heart. 'We or our fathers have sinned utterly ('sixteen annas'); when our sins are fully atoned for, we shall be the owners of the country." In course of time he collected a good deal of money, of which he and his helpers kept most. Then came the famine of 1874 in spite of all his promises. When Burma rice was imported, Bhagrit told the people that now they could see how God was working for them. The Sāhibs were afraid. The rice which they brought was rice formerly given by the Santāls to the *bongas*, and now brought back under some pretext. It was for the Santāls to eat, but they must be very careful not to let fowls or pigs pollute it, and they should bathe daily and then cook their food. This, it will be noted, is a Hinduistic touch. Now, if they were only careful, was the time for them to get the land. In Sido's and Kanhu's time. *i.e.*, in the Santāl rebellion, it had been God's desire to give the country to the Santāls; but they had sinned, especially in having relations with women of other races, and so God had refused to help them. Now they must act otherwise and cleanse themselves. After this, the people commenced to kill their pigs and fowls; but they were

generally wise enough to eat them. From this time the followers of Bhagrit appear to have taken the name of Kharwār.

The people who were under Bhagrit's influence thought that the rice imported into the famine-stricken areas was a free gift. They carted it from the distributing centres to their villages; before they took it into the village street, they sacrificed and ate a black goat at its entrance. After this they took the rice to the *manjhithān*, divided it according to their numbers, and commenced cooking in Hindu style. When the time came for paying back the Government advances, they began to disbelieve Bhagrit. He still tried to delude them, but was arrested and imprisoned, and for the time being the movement collapsed.

Bhagrit had several imitators, who were also called *bābāji*, or in some cases *guru*, and worked much as he did. Several of them told the people that they had been commissioned by God to work for a certain time, *e.g.*, three or five years; when that period expired, they ceased working. It is clear that most of them had come into contact with Christianity. They declared that they did not cure people, but God did. Only those who believed were healed, and doubters would not benefit in any way. The people must live a clean life and not use filthy language. Some of the *bābājis* started regular meetings for the people on Sundays, and prohibited Sunday labour for them and their cattle. They further directed the people to be kind to their animals, not to strike them on the head or on the bones (otherwise they would cry to God, who would punish the offenders), and to leave pasture grounds for them. One of them introduced Rāma, the Hindu deity, identifying him with God. At the end of his Sunday meeting harangue he called out with all his might: "*Rām Chando duhāi*," and all those present did the same. Some, but only a minority, gave the movement a political aspect by instigating the people to refuse payment of rent for their holdings, on the ground that land which they had reclaimed from waste belonged solely to them. Nearly all these and later *bābājis* appeared first in the vicinity of Goddā and thence spread southwards and eastwards. It is also noticeable that the strange rumours which sometimes pass through the country seem to emanate from the same quarter.

Little was heard of the movement after the imprisonment of some of its leaders, but it revived in 1880, largely owing to the preaching of one Dubia Gosain, who is said to have appeared from somewhere near Deoghar and was more Hinduistic than others of his class. He commanded the Santāls to kill their pigs and fowls and to conform to Hindu customs. He claimed

divine authority, and obtained no little influence owing to letters containing his commands being circulated far and wide. Considerable excitement and a spirit of smouldering disaffection ensued among the Santāls, always on the look-out for supernatural manifestations. This excitement, as related in Chapter II, led to some disturbances at the census of 1881, but the arrest of the *bābāji* and the vigorous measures taken by Government prevented more serious trouble. Subsequently, in 1891, the Kharwārs appear again to have taken advantage of the census to frighten other Santāls and to spread mischievous rumours in the Rājmahāl subdivision. It was stated, for instance, that the English Rāj was to come to an end, the Kharwārs would rule in their stead, and no rent would be paid; that all Santāls except the Kharwārs would be made Christians; that the soil of the country being dark belonged to the dark-skinned people and not to the white men, who would go back to their own country, where the soil was white.

The Kharwār movement does not appear to be extinct, for a few years ago there was a pronounced and widespread recrudescence of it during the hard times the people had to go through. Several Hindu practices have been introduced in the later phases of the movement, and one marked feature is the worship of the *bābājis*. Some of them and of their followers profess to be vegetarians, but they do not insist that others should adopt the same diet, though they recommend it. The precepts inculcated by a recent *bābāji* were as follows. This man was thought to be somewhat mad just before he became a *bābāji*, because he refused to eat anything touched by women. Then it came to light that he was a *bābāji* in embryo. He forbade all filthy language and insisted on addressing all, even children, as father and mother. People soon began to resort to him, and so many flocked to him that he could not attend to all personally. Then he declared that he had received a command from God that the people were to use earth, *dhubi* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) and cow-dung ashes, which would be blessed if they obeyed his commandments. These articles were divided into three parts, which were kept separate. One part had to be either drunk (mixed in water) or applied externally as the case might be. Another part had to be given to the cattle to make them give milk. A third part was to bring personal prosperity, and to be used according to instructions given, viz., it was to be mixed in water in a certain way and sprinkled all over the house wherever the inmates had or used or did anything. When taking it home, they had to be very careful not to pollute it in any way; they had also to eat it from clean utensils and after washing.

The articles used have a symbolic meaning, and are not regarded as medicines.

In this connection, it may be remarked that the Santāls instinctively feel the importance of symbolical action. In 1907, for instance, when there were a number of *bābājis* in the south of the Santāl Parganas, their disciples could be seen running, but never walking, from place to place; this was a symbolic action intended to impress the necessity of haste. Again, if a woman comes to a *bābāji* to be delivered from the *bongas*—for a *bābāji*, though not a witch-finder, professes to cure a confessed witch—he proceeds in a semi-symbolic way. It would take too much space to describe in detail how the *bābāji* finds out the truth. Briefly, the woman confesses to having had sexual intercourse with a great number of *bongas* (in one case, it is said, the woman mentioned as many as 127 male *bongas*, each separately by name) during the confession the *bābāji*, as a preliminary measure, draws figures on the ground, muttering *mantras*, spitting on the figures and wiping them out; after a night's preparation, he gives the woman a twig with which she draws figures on the ground according to his instructions, one to represent each of the *bongas* with whom she has lived; finally the *bābāji* makes the woman break off her connexion with each *bonga*, and she repeats after him a long list of abusive epithets for each and every *bonga*, winding up with spitting and trampling on the figures.

A *bābāji* pretends to be a prophet, an intermediary between the supernatural and the material world, and is at times taken by the people at his own valuation. The result is that those who believe in him, resort to him to get relief or help when they have lost faith in their ordinary everyday remedies. The village which a *bābāji* makes his headquarters is generally full of people who want a cure for all kinds of diseases and frailties, either for themselves, or for their relatives or their cattle. One has an obstinate sore, another has epilepsy, a third has a cough, a fourth has ringworm. One wants a remedy to prevent his children dying off as they are born; the wife of another never gets any children at all; a third has a confessed witch for a wife, etc. And the *bābāji* is expected to be able to help each and every one of them. Politics do not play any great part at this stage, but may come in later as a result of the *bābāji's* teachings.

The *bābājis* appear in some cases to have a lucrative profession. Bhagrit certainly made money; at first he was pleased to receive only copper; later on he admonished the people to bring silver—then their applications would be granted sooner! Others, however, have used the money they got to help the

people, *e.g.*, Bariar *bābāji* did not receive money. The people threw it on the ground before him; and when his levée was over, he used to ask whose money had been lost. As no one answered, he said that he had no authority (*i.e.*, no divine command) to take money, called the village policeman and ordered him to give it to the blind, the halt and the sick who had come, and also to buy them food ; he was not, however, to give it to anyone who had money with which to buy food.

The Kharwār movement seems to have been originally of a religious character. The Santāl traditions assert that their ancestors had no *bongas*, but worshipped God alone. They are conscious that they have become degraded by giving up their purer belief, *e.g.*, the old *gurus* will despairingly ask what can be the reason why God has punished them and permitted them to lead a vagrant life, moving like the silk-worm, from place to place, without any abiding home. In ordinary years a Santāl will not give much heed to such thoughts; but the dormant memory of God is more or less awakened when anything extraordinary happens to the people as a whole (*e.g.*, famine or scarcity), or when things happen to the individual which are not explained by the malign influence of *bongas* or witches, or do not yield to ordinary remedies. In such contingencies, they are apt to think they will improve their lot by altering or reforming their religious practices and beliefs. This also explains the spasmodic character of the movement. In times of comparative plenty or prosperity very little is heard of it; during times of famine or scarcity the movement revives.

It is noticeable that on its religious side the movement has shown a tendency to Hinduism. Its early followers called themselves Saphā Har, *i.e.*, the pure men, and eschewed fowls, pigs and intoxicating liquor, but took *gānja*. One still meets Santāls who call themselves Saphā Har, wear their hair in long matted tresses, and claim that they worship Mahādeo and never kill animals except as a sacrifice. At the same time, there seems little doubt that the extraneous ideas which have from the first given vitality to this movement are Christian. Several of the *bābājis* have been pervert Christians, and the first, Bhagrit, either had been a Christian or at any rate had been in a Christian school.

The fact that the Kharwār movement has sometimes had a political aspect is probably caused by the circumstance that when the Santāls start thinking of the old days, they conceive of them as a golden age with absolute freedom and happiness. If, they argue, they revert to their old ways, why should not their old freedom come back, with no foreigners to harass them or

take rent from them? The result is that the Kharwārs have at times claimed to be an independent race from whom no rent is due for land which they or their ancestors have cleared. This is not altogether surprising, for the Santals are not yet civilized enough to understand the machinery of Government. Their rent is paid to the zamīndār, and they do not believe that any of it is expended for the public good. They consider that they, as the clearers of the land, have an exclusive right to enjoy the fruits of their labours.

To explain certain phases of the movement the following may be mentioned. If an idea gets hold of a Santāl crowd, they cease to reason and will go to any extreme in pursuing it; but, on the other hand, the individual Santāl does not feel much, if any, personal responsibility or a specific personal interest. The ordinary Santāl is courageous enough behind a drum or a common leader; as soon as the latter disappears, there will be a general collapse. Thus, a *bābāji* with a political propaganda may be dangerous to the public peace; but as soon as he disappears very little more is heard of the movement. "It is," writes Mr. Bodding, "difficult at the present time to say what will become of this movement. It is not by any means extinct—there are many Saphā Har in the country, especially in the north and middle part. There are also a few *bābājis*; but as at present nothing special is moving the people, they are quiet because they are not sought after, and none of them are 'stars' of great magnitude, or, in other words, demagogues of any significance. But there is no reason why it may not crop up again in some form or other, the inner causes being there as they have been."

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

PRINCIPAL DISEASES. THE diseases most commonly met with in the district are malarial fevers, bowel complaints, influenza, opthalmia, cholera, small-pox and skin diseases.

Fevers. Malarial fevers are prevalent before and after the rains, and are especially common in the low-lying country bordering the Ganges, and in the Dāmin-i-koh portion of the Goddā and Pākaur subdivisions, in localities where, the drainage being defective, the land is apt to become waterlogged and water remains stagnant in hollows and depressions. The type most commonly met with is intermittent fever, but remittent cases are fairly numerous at the close of the rainy season. Eruptive fevers, such as small-pox, measles and chicken-pox, are endemic throughout the district, and sometimes become epidemic during the hot months preceding the rains. Judging from the vital statistics, the mortality caused by fever is less than in other districts of Bengal, for from 1892 to 1904 the death-rate was above 20 per mille in only four years. In each of the succeeding three years, however, the death-rate was as high as 25 per mille.

Cholera. Epidemics of cholera break out from time to time, beginning with the hot weather and ending with the rains. The subdivisions of Rājmahāl and Goddā with the municipal town of Deoghar suffer most, and the two worst epidemics on record are those of 1897, when 7,107 or 4 per mille of the population died, and of 1906 when the disease carried off 6,160 persons or 3·4 per mille.

Small-pox. There are small outbreaks of small-pox every year, but the death-rate since the present system of mortuary returns was introduced has never been as high as 1 per mille except in 1903, when 2,986 persons died, representing 1·6 per mille of the population.

Plague. The first outbreak of plague in this district occurred early in 1901 in Sāhibganj, where it had been imported from Monghyr

through the Mārwāris of the town. The only other outbreak was in the municipal town of Deoghar, and the total number of deaths in the year was only 219. This is the worst epidemic the district has yet suffered from, the total number of deaths in the six years 1902-07 being only 222.

Other diseases.

Attacks of dysentery are fairly numerous throughout the year, particularly during the rains, and deaths from this cause are believed to be much higher than the mortuary returns show. Influenza has appeared in epidemic form very frequently of late years, in some cases attacking almost every member of a village. Opthalmia of a severe type has also been prevalent; the number of blind persons, as recorded at the census, increased from 418 in 1891 to 2,066 in 1901. Skin diseases, particularly scabies, are common among young children during the cold season, presumably owing to want of care and cleanliness.

VACCINATION.

Vaccination is, on the whole, regarded favourably by the aboriginal races—not that they have much faith in it, but because it is the wish of Government. Calf vaccination was introduced for the first time in 1898-99, and was willingly accepted by them, but there was a considerable prejudice against it on the part of the Hindus, particularly the *pāndās* of Deoghar. A number of the old vaccinators resigned their appointments rather than vaccinate from the calf, but since that year considerable progress has been made. In 1907-08, altogether 55,776 persons or 31·2 per mille of the population were successfully vaccinated as against an average of 40·8 per mille in the previous five years, while the ratio of infants to whom protection was afforded was 61·9 per cent.

MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The marginal table shows the public charitable dispensaries in existence in 1908 and the number of beds in each. Of these dispensaries, the oldest is that at Deoghar, which was opened in 1864 and is maintained by private subscriptions, a municipal grant and a Government contribution. It is located in a substantial *pakkā* building, with detached buildings for the treatment of paupers and of infectious cases, and separate accommodation for the relatives of patients. In 1865 dispensaries were established at the subdivisional head-

Name.	Number of beds.	
	Men.	Women.
Deoghar ...	24	8
Nayā Dumkā	14	4
Sāhibganj ...	10	2
Jāmtārā ...	8	4
Goddā ...	6	2
Rājmahāl ...	6	2
Pākaur ...	4	2
Amrāpārā ...	...	...
Bario ...	...	...
Burhait ...	...	...
Kātikund ...	...	...

quarters of Dumkā, Rājmahāl and Goddā. The Dumkā hospital is contained in a good stone building, and like the Deoghar dispensary has separate accommodation for paupers, infectious cases and patients' relatives. In 1900 the zamīndār of Lakhanpur, Rai Bahādur Sitāb Chānd Lāhā, added a small cottage hospital with two wards for the treatment of women. The Rājmahāl dispensary is located in a fine old Muhammadan mosque on the banks of the river Ganges, a gift of the East Indian Railway Company. Goddā has a substantial building with out-houses for treatment of pauper and infectious cases. In 1877 two more dispensaries were established at Jāmtārā and Sāhibganj. That at Jāmtārā was located in a small thatched building until 1897, when a masonry building took its place. The Sāhibganj dispensary until some ten years ago was housed in a few dingy rooms in a native *sarai*, but now has a good building with a female cottage hospital. This dispensary is very largely attended by the labourers employed in the *sabai* grass trade. In 1893 a dispensary was opened at Kātikund, and in 1897 another was started at Bario, both in the Dāmin-i-koh. These dispensaries are maintained by the Santāls, who pay one anna per house annually, the Government providing the services of Civil Hospital Assistants. In 1898 a dispensary was opened at the subdivisional headquarters of Pākaur, which supplied a long-felt want. The Rājā had hitherto kept up a public dispensary, but villagers of low caste were not encouraged to attend it for fear that they might carry contagion to the inmates of the palace, so that the charity was not of as much benefit to the public as it might have been. Subsequently, the Rājā made over a building, erected for an institute near the *kachahri*, for the new hospital. Next year another dispensary was opened at Asanbani, the building and stock being the gift of Mr. Maling Grant, and a private dispensary was started at Madhupur by Bābu Balai Chānd Dutt. In 1908 another private dispensary at Maheshpur was brought under Government supervision.

There are two railway dispensaries and four dispensaries maintained by missions, of which the best attended are said to be those of the Church Missionary Society and the Indian Home Mission to the Santāls. The missionaries scattered over the district also treat the sick both at the mission stations and in villages. It is satisfactory to note that the Santāls, who used to regard a dispensary as the abode of devils and would not accept European treatment, now attend them in fair numbers, provided the Civil Hospital Assistant in charge is kind and sympathetic. The

following table shows the receipts of and attendance at the dispensaries in 1908 :—

Names.	Balance on 1st January 1908.	Government contributions.	Municipal grants.	Subscriptions.	Other receipts.	Total receipts.	Total expenditure.	In-door patients (total).	Out-door patients (total).
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
Amrāpārā ...	...	599	...	...	...	599	599	...	3,502
Asanbani ...	...	8	...	918	...	926	926	...	6,367
Bario ...	1,054	529	...	223	37	1,843	762	...	7,215
Burhait ...	...	730	...	...	...	730	730	...	5,936
Deoghar ...	1,478	84	630	1,331	117	3,640	1,848	246	5,078
Dumkā ...	786	1,106	450	901	318	3,561	3,177	188	7,097
Goddā ...	279	570	...	842	74	1,765	1,413	90	3,709
Jāmtārā ...	355	330	...	452	17	1,154	985	120	7,920
Kātikund ...	486	331	...	328	104	1,249	838	...	3,687
Madhupur ...	...	24	...	1,609	...	1,633	1,633	...	5,700
Maheshpur ...	...	12	...	1,588	...	1,600	1,600	...	1,609
Pākaur ...	939	575	...	1,585	20	3,119	1,860	51	6,481
Rājmahāl ...	725	340	...	315	78	1,458	936	52	8,498
Sāhibganj ...	3,131	25	1,725	304	...	5,185	1,534	77	5,711

LEPER ASYLUM. There is a leper asylum called the Rāj Kumārī Leper Asylum at Deoghar, which was founded in 1895 as the result of private efforts, its foundation being chiefly due to the liberality of the late Dr. Mahendra Lāl Sarkār, C.I.E., who gave Rs. 5,000 towards the erection of the buildings, and after whose wife it is named. Two male wards capable of accommodating 32 lepers were originally constructed, together with kitchens for the lepers to cook their own food. In 1900 a dispensary and a female ward capable of accommodating four lepers were added, and the buildings now suffice for 40 lepers. The institution is maintained by a small endowment and subscriptions, from which as large a sum as possible is invested every year so as to make it self-supporting. It is managed by a Committee, of which the Deputy Commissioner is Chairman.

LODGING HOUSE ACT. The Purī Lodging House Act (IV B. C. of 1871) is in force in the town of Deoghar, which is a noted place of pilgrimage, and in Jesidih Bazar at the Baidyanāth Junction, having been extended to the former place in 1879 and to the latter in 1901. This Act provides, *inter alia*, for the appointment of a Health Officer to inspect lodging houses and report upon them to the Magistrate. Under its provisions no lodging house may be opened without a license, and licenses are granted only upon a certificate from the Health Officer stating the suitability of the building for the purpose and the number of persons which it can accommodate. An amending Act was subsequently passed in 1908, the chief objects of which are to provide safeguards against over-crowding in lodging houses, to render their inspection more practicable, and to give Government power to increase the license fees, so as to

secure the funds necessary for proper sanitation. The receipts obtained under the working of the Act form what is known as the Lodging House Fund and consist mainly of fees paid for the licensing of lodging houses and of contributions, *e.g.*, in 1907-08. Rupees 4,834 were contributed for the erection of sheds for pilgrims on the camping-ground at Deoghar. The Fund provides the pay of the Health Officer and a small establishment for collection and supervision, consisting of a clerk, overseer and peon; it also makes provision for the sanitation and conservancy of the town and the construction and repair of buildings, such as pilgrims' shops and sheds. The receipts in 1908-09 amounted to Rs. 1,948 and the expenditure was Rs. 11,291, as against Rs. 1,009 and Rs. 19,263 respectively in 1906-07, and Rs. 7,297 and Rs. 7,818 in 1907-08. According to the returns for 1908-09, there are 63 licensed lodging houses, which have accommodation for 3,153 persons.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

IN the level strip of land along the Ganges agricultural conditions are the same as in the alluvial plains of Bihār. Elsewhere the surface is to a large extent composed of long undulating ridges, between which the drainage runs off to join the larger streams. The trough-like hollows that lie between the undulations of the surface are full of rich alluvial soil into which a detritus of vegetable matter has been washed. The crests of the ridges, however, are as a rule very poor, being made up of sterile gravel or stiff clay lying on a hard subsoil, which is dependent on the rainfall and yields even to irrigation but a meagre outturn. The slopes of these ridges, and the swampy ground between, supply the only land on which a rice crop can be raised. The soil is, in the first instance, brought under cultivation by cutting level terraces out of the slope, a small bank to hold water being left round each plot. The slopes thus present the appearance of a series of steps, varying from one to five feet in height. When the slopes are too steep for terracing, or the soil too stony for cultivation, the bed of the stream is banked up and made into one long narrow rice field. The rice terraces are flooded as soon as possible after the rains set in, and the water is retained until the crop ripens in late autumn. After the crop has been reaped, the higher levels become dry and hard, but the lower fields often remain moist till February and March. The cultivable area which cannot be converted into rice fields is used for other crops requiring less moisture.

CLASSES OF LAND. There are two main classes of land, known as *dhāni* or rice lands and *bāri* or uplands, the land under cultivation being almost equally divided between them. The rice lands are usually subdivided into three classes, viz., first, second and third class *dhāni*, this classification depending chiefly on the level of the land, the crops it grows and the amount of moisture it retains. First class *dhāni*, called *āwal*, *bahāl* or *jol*, includes lands on the lower levels, which are protected by their natural situation, by springs, or by the numerous small embankments which the ryots throw across the dips and hollows. The best of the first class rice lands are those which are fed by perennial springs, from which moisture oozes even in the hottest months of the year. Second class *dhāni*, called *doem*, *kānāli* or *sakrat*, consists of the rice fields on the smaller undulations and the lower terraced lands on the slopes. Each step acts as a shallow reservoir for the step below, and there is always percolation from the higher to the lower levels. Third class *dhāni*, called *soem* or *bād*, consists of the higher terraced fields, which have been cut out from the slopes and have only small *ails* or ridges to retain rainfall. *Bāri* lands are unterraced high lands on which maize, mustard, millets, pulses and other miscellaneous crops are grown. They are usually divided into two main classes :—(1) first class *bāri*, *i.e.*, the land round the village site or on the banks of streams, which is usually cropped twice a year, and (2) second class *bāri*, known as *dangalbāri*, *i.e.*, inferior land away from the village site, which is only cropped once a year.

As regards the crops grown on the different classes of land, first class *dhāni* land, being low-lying and moist, is utilized for growing winter rice, for even in the driest year these fields accumulate and retain sufficient moisture for its growth. Gram, linseed, *khesāri* and other *rabi* crops are also sometimes raised on these first class rice lands ; and in tracts where they form flat and extensive *bahiārs*, as in those parts of the Goddā subdivision which adjoin Bhāgalpur, *rabi* is frequently grown. The second class paddy fields, are utilized indifferently for growing winter and autumn rice. When winter rice is grown on them, the crop is apt to fail in years of short rainfall, unless it is protected by *bāndhs* or embankments forming reservoirs, from which water can be let into the fields if there is an early cessation of the rains. When autumn rice is raised on such lands, the crop is more secure. Second class land is occasionally utilized in the cold weather for growing a second crop of wheat, barley, linseed, *khesāri* or lentils. Sugarcane is often grown on second class rice lands close to tanks or streams which afford facilities for irrigation. The third class paddy fields usually grow *bhadoi* or autumn rice.

First class *bāri* land in the immediate vicinity of villages, where the surface is fairly level, and the soil is rich in organic matter derived from village refuse of all kinds, besides being artificially manured, supports valuable crops, such as maize, mustard, the larger variety of cotton (*bar-kāpās*), tobacco, the castor-oil plant and vegetables. Maize is generally the first crop raised and is followed by mustard; in fact, it is understood locally that first class *bāri* is land cultivated with or capable of growing maize. *Jowār* or *choli* (*Andropogon sorghum*) and both the *māghi* and *chaitāli* varieties of *rahar* (*Cajanus indicus*) are also grown on first class *bāri* land, and in the more productive localities on second class *bāri* land. Sugarcane is also grown on first class *bāri* lands near tanks. In the Pābbiā *tāluk* of the Jāmtārā subdivision such sugarcane fields are not usually irrigated, but *bāri* lands that retain moisture are selected for its cultivation. The rest of the *bāri* land is generally sown with either *gondli* (*Panicum miliare*) or *kodo* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) in the hot weather, and with *kurthi* (*Dolichos biflorus*) or *sarguja* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) in the autumn. The minor crops, *i.e.*, crops which are less extensively grown on second class *bāri* land, are a superior variety of *gondli* called *laio* (*Panicum italicum*), *bājra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*), *maruā* (*Eleusine Coracana*), gram, *til* (*Sesamum indicum*), *pattua* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) and the smaller variety of cotton (*Chhotakāpās*).

In this district the names for the same type of soil seem to vary in different parts, Hindī, Bengali and Santāli names being all in use. A heavy black clay is known as *karār*, and when yellowish in colour as *entel*, *chital māti* or *jetang hasa*, the last being a Santāli word. It is a sticky clay, becoming very hard when dry, and is poor in quality, producing only *rahar*, *kurthi* and *bājra*; but it improves after having been under cultivation for some time, when it turns into good paddy land. The typical clay soil of the district is variously known as *kewāl*, *kāla māti*, *metāl* and, in Santāli, *hende hasa*. It is a black clay soil, which, though hard when dry, is friable. It is, on the whole, very fertile and is chiefly used for growing paddy. A clay loam is called *bindi māti*, and a loam is called *donaslā*. *Balthar*, *balkasi* and *bele* are sandy soils (called by the Santāls *gital hasa*), which are useless for agriculture. *Balsundar* is a reddish sandy clay found on the banks of the hill streams—a poor soil, which, however, produces paddy under irrigation. The *diāra* soil on the banks of the Ganges, that receives a deposit of silt every year, is known as *masin* or *masina māti* (Santāli, *pali hasa*). It is a light, friable, rich soil used for both *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops. *Ankkuri* or *lālmāti* (Santāli, *ara* SOILS.

hasa or *dhiri hasa*) is a reddish soil found near the hills. It is of an inferior quality but not infertile, for it will grow *jowār*, maize, *kurthī*, *kodo* and *rahar* besides *sabai* grass. *Bāstu* or *bhitā* land (Santāli *ora barge*) is homestead land growing sugarcane, chillies, tobacco, maize, mustard and all kinds of vegetables. Saline soils which are unfit for agricultural purposes are called *usar*, *kharwa*, etc.* The wet saline soil called *nuna māti* grows paddy, but the outturn is poor.

IRRIGATION.

Artificial irrigation is essential for the cultivation of rice except in the level tract adjoining the Ganges and at the bottom of inland depressions, where the soil is kept moist by perennial springs or is capable of retaining water draining off higher levels. Here heavy crops of rice are obtained, even though the rainfall is short or ceases prematurely; but there is a danger of crop failure if the surrounding slopes are too steep, for the rush of water often brings with it drifts of sand which ruin the crop. To obviate this danger, a small channel is often provided for the escape of sand-laden water. Except in such localities, artificial irrigation is absolutely necessary, and fortunately the undulating nature of the country affords great facilities for protective works. These facilities have been so fully utilized, that one-third of the rice land is now protected from drought by its natural position or by small irrigation works, one-third is partially protected, and only one-third remains unprotected.

Bāndhs and *hirs.*

The irrigation works generally take the form of embankments constructed across ravines, hollows or other natural depressions or at the head of the numerous valleys, which impound the drainage water and also dam up any stream there may be in the bed of a valley or ravine. They thus form reservoirs, from which the rice fields, stretching away, each on a lower level than another, and widening as they recede from the dam, are irrigated. These embankments, when small, are called *hirs* and when large *bāndhs*. Their number is legion, and no village is without one or two at least. The smaller ones dry up a month or two after the rains cease, but generally hold sufficient water to carry the fields below over the precarious months of October and November. The larger ones have frequently catchment basins large enough to ensure a continuous water-supply from the end of one rainy season to the beginning of the next. Their sites are usually well chosen, and the beds of the *bāndhs* are often impregnated with natural springs. The slopes, moreover, are laboriously terraced, the fields being cut out from them in a series of steps. Being enclosed by small

* D. N. Mukherji, *Note on the Soils of Bengal*, 1909.

ridges (*ails*) which retain water, the higher fields are practically minute reservoirs, from which water percolates or is allowed to run off to the fields below.

There is very little well irrigation in this district. There are, it is true, *kachchā* wells in nearly every village, however small, but they usually consist merely of holes scoped out wherever springs exist, and are not used much for irrigation, except over small patches of first class *bāri* land growing vegetables, tobacco and other special crops. *Tappa* Manihāri in the north of the Goddā subdivision, with an area of about 100 square miles, which consists of unusually flat and fertile land, is the only tract in which wells are used to any considerable extent. Wells.

In *tappas* Manihāri, Barkop and Pātsundā (in the Goddā subdivision) and also to a less extent in *pargana* Goddā, another tract of 100 square miles within the same subdivision, a considerable amount of irrigation is effected by water channels called *daurs* leading from embankments thrown across the beds of streams to fields at a lower level. These channels frequently pass through several villages, all of which assist in their construction and share in the benefits accruing from them. There is, indeed, quite a network of distributaries across the face of Manihāri and the more level parts of Goddā, showing that the people are well able to take advantage of the particular form of irrigation best suited to the needs of the country. Such a system is possible in this part of the district, for the river channels are comparatively shallow and will admit of the construction of dams in their beds after the close of the rains. *Daurs.*

Tappa Manihāri is a monotonously level plain hemmed in by the hill ranges of the Dāmin-i-koh on the west and south and by the high lands of the Bhāgalpur district on the remaining sides. From these higher lands it gets an excellent supply of water, which is carefully preserved in irrigation *bāndhs*. Goddā is a more undulating country, but the higher lands enclose broad fertile valleys, which are watered by hill streams from the Dāmin. Here also irrigation has reached a high stage of development, and the lands of the central valleys are reputed to be the most fertile rice lands in the district. Elsewhere irrigation from the rivers is impossible, for by the end of the rainy season they are merely beds of sand with little or no water.

Apart from the natural facilities for irrigation, the system of administration in the Santāl Parganas has done much to develop its natural resources. "The land system of the Santāl Parganas is," writes Mr. H. McPherson, "one which lends itself with peculiar advantage to co-operation amongst the cultivators of the soil. Administration.

The unit is the village. At the head of almost every village there is a headman. The headman is the representative of the village, through whom the villagers as a body deal with the proprietor. The proprietor is merely the rent-receiver and has no part in the management or internal economy of the village. His interference, if he is at all disposed to interfere, which few landlords in the Santāl Parganas are, is liable to be checked at every turn by appeal to the local officer, who besides being the court of civil and criminal justice to the people, is their active and sympathetic safeguard against every form of oppression that may be practised by the headman or proprietor. The headman is appointed by and is liable to be dismissed by the District Officer. Hence it is that in the Santāl Parganas the village commune with its headman and elders flourishes with a very strong and vigorous life.

"The faculty of association and co-operation has been fostered and developed to a degree that is impossible in the ordinary district. It is this facility of co-operation to which, I think, is chiefly due the very extraordinary utilization that has occurred of the natural irrigational advantages of the district. Works that have been beyond the means and enterprise of the individual cultivator have been successfully carried through by the united efforts of the community, each member of which has shared in the general resultant good, and co-operation has told not only on the work of construction but also on the work of maintenance and repair. By a special provision of the village record-of-rights and duties, which was framed 25 years ago and has now been renewed, it is the duty of the headman and ryots of a village to maintain and repair all the village *bāndhs*, tanks and other works of irrigation. While speaking of the record-of-rights I may note another of the special provisions, viz., that without reference to the proprietor any ryot may construct embankments and like works for purposes of reclamation or irrigation, provided he does not thereby cause injury or loss to others. This clause removes the proprietor from interference with the work of improvement, and leaves individual ryots and the community free to think out and execute their own ideas of improvement."

A further inducement to the ryots to improve their lands by irrigation is afforded by the rental law which provides that the rents due to the proprietor are fixed for the term of settlement, *i.e.*, for at least 15 years: as a matter of fact, they usually remain unchanged even longer. The ryot, therefore, who makes or improves a *bāndh*, knows that for a considerable period he will not be deprived of the fruits of his enterprise. He not only repays

himself for his labour and expense within a year or two, but goes on reaping his reward till the time for resettlement comes round. He further knows that when there is resettlement, the operations will be conducted under the immediate supervision of Government officers who will treat him sympathetically, take his improvements into account, and not enhance his rent unduly. So far from their rents being enhanced, cultivators are allowed considerable abatements or remissions of rate rent in consideration of improvements effected by them during the course of the settlement. The extent to which the ryots have taken advantage of these conditions and improved the country by reclaiming, terracing and embanking may be gathered from Mr. McPherson's settlement figures, for in an area of 3,300 square miles rice cultivation has increased from 380,000 acres to 625,000 acres and first class rice land from 108,000 acres to 208,000 acres.

Much, however, as has been done by the village communities, their interest is confined to single villages, and they labour under the difficulty that, while their own resources are small, they cannot pledge their united security to obtain capital, inasmuch as the lands of the district are not transferable by mortgage or sale. Irrigation works, carried out by individual ryots or village communities are, therefore, necessarily of a minor character. Reservoirs and channels affecting more villages than one, and involving considerable outlay, can only be constructed and maintained by the zamīndārs, and the latter have hitherto shown little enterprise in this direction. They belong to a class who are not likely to lay out capital on improvements unless they see a fair chance of obtaining a reasonable return for it, and unlike the proprietors of permanently-settled estates in other districts, they were until recently unable to obtain an immediate and fair return for money spent by them on works of improvement. The law, as it stood, gave them no prospect of such a return, for if a proprietor during the currency of a settlement were to expend capital on the construction of large irrigation works, he would have to wait for the profits of his enterprise till the settlement could be revised. He might, it is true, bargain with the headman or ryots to receive higher rents in return, but the contract would not be enforceable in the courts, and his profit would thus be precarious. At the revision his enhancement of income would depend on two factors, viz., classification and rates. The former would be determined by the settlement staff, and the latter probably by Government His expenditure on irrigation works would probably result in a higher classification, and to this extent some return would be a moral certainty, but

Government might or might not allow an enhancement of the former rates of rent.

To remedy this state of affairs Regulation III of 1907 has been passed, under which the Deputy Commissioner may, during the currency of a settlement, allow an enhancement of rent on the ground of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor. This is subject to the provision that, in the case of villages in the lease or management of a *mānjhi* or headman, the proprietor must get the consent of the Deputy Commissioner before effecting an improvement, and the improvement must be of so substantial a nature as to affect beneficially a considerable proportion of the lands in the village.

PRINCIPAL CROPS.

From the marginal table it will be seen that nearly two-thirds of the total cropped area is occupied by *aghani* crops and a little more than one-fifth each by *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops. The district has thus the crops of three seasons to rely on and is therefore not very liable to famine. In the Jāmtārā and Pākaur subdivisions, however, *rabi* crops, and in the Goddā subdivision *bhadoi* crops, are grown on comparatively small areas. Statistics of the areas under the principal crops in each subdivision will be found at the end of the chapter.

	Bhadoi.	*Aghani.*	*Rabi.*
Dumkā ...	26	50	24
Deoghar ...	24	53	23
Jāmtārā ...	21	69	10
Pakaur ...	27	61	12
Rājmahal ...	25	52	23
Zamīndāri areas	21½	58½	20
Dāmin-i-koh ...	26	51	23
District Total ...	22½	56½	21

Rice.

Rice accounts for about one-half of the total cropped area, as shown in the following table, and the greater part of the crop consists of winter rice. Spring or *boro* rice is scarcely grown at all except in the Rājmahāl subdivision, where it is raised on the edge of the *jhils* which are numerous in that part of the district.

	Dumkā.	Deoghar.	Jāmtārā.	Pākaur.	Rājmahāl.	Goddā.	Zamindāri area.	Dāmin-i-koh.	District.
Bhadoi ...	16	16	16	15	8	4	13	9	12
Aghani ...	27	28	43	41	39	39	37	28	35
Rabi (boro) ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Total ...	43	44	59	56	48	43	50	37	47

The next most important crop is maize or Indian-corn, the proportion of which varies from 12 per cent. in Rājmahāl to 4 per cent. in Jāmtārā, and from 13 per cent. in the Dāmin-i-koh to 8 per cent. in zamīndāri estates. In the whole district it is cultivated on about one-eleventh of the cropped area. Maize.

Wheat and barley are found mainly in the country east and north of the hills in the Pākaur, Rājmahāl and Goddā subdivisions, and gram mostly in the Goddā subdivision. *Maruā* is grown chiefly in the Goddā and Deoghar subdivisions, and very little is grown in the Dāmin-i-koh. *Kodo*, on the other hand, is grown extensively in the Government estate and to a very limited extent outside. *Bājra* is a favourite crop of the Pahārias, who grow it on the hill-sides, and in the Dāmin-i-koh it occupies no less than 7 per cent. of the total cropped area. Other cereals and pulses.

Linseed is found mainly in Pākaur, Rājmahāl and Goddā, where it usually forms a second crop to rice. Mustard is more evenly distributed. It is a favourite second crop on homestead lands that have been cultivated in the autumn with maize. Its distribution therefore closely follows the distribution of maize. Sesamum or *til*, an *aghani* oil-seed, is grown on nearly 24,000 acres. Oil-seeds.

Cotton is grown on 12,349 acres, but is more or less confined to the Deoghar and Dumka subdivisions. The total area under jute is only 1,512 acres and under hemp 1,190 acres. Fibres.

Sugarcane (5,100 acres) is grown mostly in the Deoghar subdivision. Among other miscellaneous crops may be mentioned condiments and spices (1,415 acres), *kusum* (2,270 acres), opium (20 acres), coffee (11 acres), tea (19 acres), tobacco (1,379 acres), fodder crops (285 acres), *kharaul* (7,812 acres), potatoes (506 acres) and indigo (36 acres). Other.

The statistics obtained in the course of Mr. McPherson's settlement show that, roughly speaking, one-half of the district is cultivated, one-fourth is cultivable and one-fourth uncultivable, and also that about one eighth of the cultivated area is twice-cropped. Of the subdivisions Jāmtārā appears to be the most backward, for only 41 per cent. of the total area is cultivated, though it has the largest proportion of cultivable land. Goddā is the most advanced, for nearly 60 per cent. is cultivated, and it also contains by far the largest proportion of twice-cropped land. Deoghar is next to Jāmtārā the least advanced subdivision in point of agricultural development. EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF CULTIVATION.

In the district, as a whole, the cultivated area has increased within the last 30 years by no less than 66 per cent. (84 per cent.

in the zamīndāri estates and 36 per cent. in the Dāmin-i-koh), the rice-growing area increasing by 72 per cent. and the upland area by 61 per cent. The process has been well described by Mr. H. McPherson. "The Santál is a born reclaimer. He has an eye which is expert to take advantage of the inequalities that exist in the surface of the country. He knows where to throw his cross-*bāndhs* and where to make his terraces. He loves to clear jungle, and in areas that are now almost Hindu he has often been the pioneer. In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilized Bengali, Bihāri and up-country immigrant came at his heels, pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery, seized upon his improvements, and by the application of larger capital or steadier labour developed the embryo *bāndhs* and tanks into works of considerable size. In many villages one finds magnificent reservoirs which retain their supply of water throughout the driest years. They have often been begun by Santāls and finished by others."

Not only has the area under cultivation been extended, but the productive powers of the soil have been increased as the result of terracing the higher lands, by which the lower lands are improved. The work of reclamation and improvement goes on simultaneously, *e.g.*, when a Santāl reclaims the bed of a stream, terraces high *tāri* lands, or constructs embankments across depressions. The lands which are prepared by terracing are usually inferior rice lands whose crop is precarious, but they benefit the lands immediately below by retaining some portion of the annual rainfall in the higher levels. Year after year the ryot goes on raising the side walls (*ails*) of his fields, and year by year a greater supply of water is retained. Lands lying below, which used to be third class, thus become second class, and the second class lands are improved into first class fields. The result is a largely increased outturn, for in a good year an acre of third class land produces from 10 to 15 maunds of paddy, an acre of second class land from 15 to 30 maunds, and an acre of first class land from 25 to 40 maunds. In years of deficient rainfall, the gain is still greater; for while first class land will produce a 12 to 16-annas crop, second class land will not yield more than 8 to 12

annas, and on third class land the crop will not reach even 4 annas of a full crop.

Among the Maler in the north of the Rājmahāl Hills the primitive practice of *jhūm* or *kurāo* cultivation still persists, and is almost the only kind of cultivation. The *jhūms* are regularly re-made after intervals of five years, and it is said that except near the Ganges, where there is some rough conservancy carried out by the Maler themselves for the sake of fire-wood which they sell, or where the fear of demons has caused the desertion of a village, the *jhūms* from a distance present as regular an appearance as the corn-stubbles of English uplands, being broad, regular and continuous, and not merely irregular patches in young forest. *Jhūming* is practised on the sloping hill-sides only, and on most hill tops there is some extent of level surface that is cultivated in the ordinary way. Under this system there is practically no rice cultivation. For example, the settlement statistics show that in 87 Pahāria villages in the Pākaur Dāmin, out of an area of 27,652 acres, 4,434 acres were *jhūmed*, while 6,589 acres were left for the extension of *jhūms*; 4,137 acres were upland *bāri*; and only 272 acres were under rice.

Of the fruits common in the district the *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) and *kondra* (*Bauhinia purpurea*) are of special importance as affording food in years of scanty rainfall. The flowers of the former are a popular article of diet; the tender leaves of the latter are largely consumed as pot-herbs. The ryots, in the greater part of the district, are entitled to enjoy the produce of *mahuā* trees free of payment under the provisions of the record-of-rights, which contains a clause stating that all the *jamābandi* ryots and poor residents of a village are entitled to enjoy rent-free, to the extent of their domestic and agricultural requirements the produce of *mahuā* trees, whether growing on holdings, or on the village common lands, or in the reserved forests of the village. This privilege is not enjoyed by ryots in *pargana* Goddā of the Banaili Rāj, where *mahuā* trees are assessed at one anna a tree payable by the ryot in enjoyment of the produce. The jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), which is very plentiful in the district, is also of importance, as its large green fruit when cooked affords a nourishing food; it is, in fact, said to be as valuable and prolific as the bread-fruit. Among other trees yielding food and largely used by Santāls may be mentioned the Indian horse-radish tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*). Yams, arums and sweet potatoes are also largely consumed, while the *buru rahar* (*Cyamopsis psoralioides*) and *ghangra* (*Vigna Catjang*) succeed well in years of short rainfall.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

The following tables show (1) for the whole district the acreage under the principal crops and their proportion to the gross cropped area, and (2) for each subdivision statistics of areas and their proportions to the total area:—

Crops.	Acreage.	Percentage.	Crops.	Acreage.	Percentage.
Winter rice ...	667,217	35	Autumn rice ...	226,364	12
Jowār ...	3,808	...	*Maruā* ...	9,813	...
Bājra ...	48,335	2	Maize ...	163,782	9
Other cereals and pulses.	311,363	17	*Kodo* ...	21,600	1
			Other cereals and pulses.	6,252	...
Til ...	23,985	1			
Sugarcane ...	5,100	...	Non-food crops	1,947	...
Cotton ...	12.440	...			
Miscellaneous	7,796	...			
Total *Aghani* crops ...	1,080,044	56·5	Total *Bhadoi* crops.	429,758	22·5
Rice (*boro*) ...	4,416	...	Orchards and gardens.	5,679	...
Wheat ...	9,807	...			
Barley ...	21,650	1			
Gram ...	34,810	2			
Other cereals and pulses.	172,042	9	Total cropped area.	1,911,414	...
Linseed ...	31,218	2			
Mustard ...	56,386	3			
Other oil-seeds.	23,817	1	Area cropped more than once.	217,057	6
Other non-food crops.	41,787	2			
Total *Rabi* crops.	395,933	20	Net cropped area.	1,694,361	...

SUBDIVISION.	Net cropped area.		Current fallow.		CULTIVABLE AREA OTHER THAN CURRENT FALLOW.						AREA NOT AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.					
					Old fallow.		Cultivable jungle, etc.		Total.		Water.		Other kinds.		Total.	
	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.	Acres.	Percentage.
Dumkā	435,193	47	68,247	7	129,122	14	61,405	7	190,527	28	28,346	3	210,672	22	239,018	25
Deoghar	262,529	44	48,180	8	76,552	13	34,779	5	111,321	26	33,428	6	150,210	24	183,638	30
Jāmtārā	182,725	41	38,594	9	76,489	17	42,857	11	119,336	37	18,404	4	83,361	18	101,765	22
Pākaur	242,561	56	39,396	9	49,036	12	9,131	2	58,167	23	14,721	3	80,593	18	95,314	21
Rājmahāl	231,735	56	21,093	6	29,047	7	12,825	2	41,872	15	12,129	3	111,839	26	123,968	29
Goddā	339,616	59	28,918	5	51,539	9	21,857	3	73,396	17	23,427	4	114,269	20	137,696	24
District Total ...	1,694,361	50	244,429	7	411,786	12	182,833	5	594,619	24	130,455	4	750,944	22	881,399	26

CHAPTER VII.

NATURAL CALAMITIES.

LIABILITY TO FAMINE. THERE have been three famines in the Santāl Parganas within little more than half a century, and in each case famine was due to the failure of the winter rice crop, which is the main staple of the district. Such failure is apt to occur owing to an early cessation of the rains, for it is estimated that 5 inches of rainfall are required in October for that crop and that, if the rainfall is less, the crop will be short and may be almost an entire failure. A certain amount of land is, however, protected against the vicissitudes of the seasons by irrigation. These protected lands consist of old rice fields laid out in ravines or depressions, which are generally fed by reservoirs at their heads or supplied by springs under the high banks throughout their length. Their fertility is extraordinary. The stalkc are left long when the rice is cut; buffaloes are then turned in to graze on them, and when the land gsts drier, other cattle. The fields are thus thoroughly manured, and it has been proved by experiment that they yield sometimes as much as 40 maunds of cleaned rice per acre. Of late years, however, the proportion of unprotected land has increased owing to the extension of rice cultivation to many ridges and uplands, which formerly were considered unfit for it. The result is that considerable areas which used to produce dry crops, like maize and millets, on which the people lived—though in years of plenty these grains were unsaleable—have now been turned into poor rice lands for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

On the other hand, the resources of the people in time of famine have been largely added to by the number of *mahuā* trees which have sprung up within the last 30 years. In 1879 it used to be said that it was impossible to find a young *mahuā* tree in the Santāl Parganas, whereas the country is now covered with young trees of bearing age—the result of Sir George Campbell's settlements, under which the produce was recorded as the common property of the villages, while the trees remained the property of the zamīndārs. Also, in time of scarcity, the labouring

classes find relief in emigration, which not only takes away those who are in want, but also induces those employers who require labour to do something to keep labourers at home. Another feature which is noticeable when there is scarcity is the extent to which the aboriginals of the district, such as Santāls, Pahārias and Bhuiyās, can supplement their scanty fare by fruits and roots, or even support life on jungle products. The contrast in this respect between them and the inhabitants of other districts in Bihār has been described as follows by Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., formerly Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division, with reference to the famine of 1897.

"Another fact again made prominent by the scarcity is how much smaller is the margin which separates from absolute want the self-respecting and decent-looking people of Hindustān with their fastidiousness and strict religious observance and those aboriginal or degraded races on the border, whose normal condition is one of dirt and rags, and whose villages and huts are pictures of squalor and apparent misery. The Bauris of the Santāl Parganas are the most prominent example. They can use animal food and even carrion, and can sustain life by jungle products unknown in the more popular and civilized tracts. These degraded races are also far more averse to the regular toil by which wages can be earned by relief works than the Hindu and Muhammadan peasantry, and only resort to them in the last extremity and when their children have already suffered from starvation. The races in the north, with whom they are contrasted, take with the greatest order their places on the relief work, as if by signal, when the time has come; and are careful to see that, however low the wages and rigorous the tests, that time is not postponed till their children have begun to suffer or they themselves have been reduced to apathy and inability to do the tasks by which their food is to be earned." The justice of this account was proved by the experience of 1897, when the Bauris and other semi-Hinduized aboriginals in the Jāmtārā subdivision continued to protest against the rigour of test works and generally to give trouble, declaring that they would rather die in their houses than toil on relief works in the sun.

FAMINES.

The following is a brief account of the famines which have visited the Santāl Parganas since the district was constituted.

Famine of 1866.

In 1866 famine was caused by the failure of the winter rice crop, of which the outturn was only half to three-fourths of the average. The *bhadoi* crop was, on the whole, not below the average, but food stocks had been depleted by large exports of it, and the *rabi* crop was a poor one. In July 1866 the price of

common rice rose to 7½ seers per rupee, and in August to 6½ seers, but there was an abundant harvest of mango and *mahuā*, which afforded food to thousands. The people, however, were forced to eat the fruit while still unripe, and the numbers of those who consequently died from cholera were counted by thousands.

Famine of 1874.

The rainfall during 1873 was very unequally distributed, varying from 52 inches at Dumkā to 24 inches at Rājmahāl, and the harvests exhibited degrees of variation corresponding to the capriciousness of the rainfall. The *bhadoi* crop, including maize, millets and pulses, which are less sensitive to abnormal variations of weather than rice, yielded three-fourths of an average outturn, but the winter rice crop was only half an average crop. The outturn was worst in the flat rice-producing lands of Rājmahāl, where also the rainfall was most deficient; here only one-fourth of an average crop was harvested. In the Deoghar subdivision half an average crop was saved, while in Dumkā the outturn was nine-sixteenths of the average. The *rabi* crop, moreover, afforded no material help, for it could not be sown on more than one-quarter of the area usually devoted to cold weather crops, and even in this reduced area the yield was poor. "But" wrote Mr. A. P. (now Lord) MacDonnell, "what Nature denied to agricultural skill and industry, she to some extent granted unsolicited. The *mahuā* tree, which studs the Santāl hills and uplands, yielded a bounteous crop of edible blossoms and seeds; the mango fruit, though less abundant last year in Santālia than in more northern regions, was still plentiful, and brought a sensible addition to the food-supply of a simple people who live much on wild fruits and herbs".*

The area most severely affected was the Rājmahāl subdivision, and after it Goddā and Dumkā. To judge by the number of labourers employed on relief works, it would seem that very little or no distress existed in the Deoghar subdivision. The marginal table shows the aggregate number of persons employed on relief work in each of the four subdivisions then constituting the district. The average daily attendance was highest in June, when it amounted to 7,039, while the average daily number relieved gratuitously was highest towards the end of August, when it was 3,511.

Dumkā ...	756,480
Deoghar ...	15,660
Rājmahāl ...	1,396,740
Goddā ...	938,940
Total ...	3,107,820

Famine of 1897.

In 1896 the rainfall was not only deficient but also unfavourably distributed. There was a drought which lasted till May, a break

* *Food-grain supply and Famine Relief in Bihār and Bengal* (1876).

in the rains from the 20th July to the 20th August, which spoiled the hopes of the *bhadoi*, and a final drought from the 24th September to the 31st December 1896. After that date there was good rain, and the weather became particularly favourable to agricultural prospects, though not to all standing crops. Unfortunately, however, not one in 20 mango trees flowered, whilst the *mahuā* blossoms were injured by storms in March, so that the produce was only from a half to two-thirds of the average. The result of the year's crops was that the outturn of the *bhadoi* crop was only 10 annas, and that of winter rice only 8 annas. The early cessation of the rains and the absence of moisture for the cold weather sowings also made the cold weather crops very short; in particular, the oil-seed proved almost a total failure. This followed on a bad season the year before, owing to the same cause—failure of the rains in October—and there was therefore a very short local supply. Owing moreover to the strong demand for grain up-country, very high prices ruled, so that the local scarcity was intensified.

Famine was, however, only declared in two tracts in the south-west of the district, one in the Jāmtārā subdivision covering 367 square miles with a population of 93,000 persons, and the other consisting of the Deoghar subdivision with an area 954 square miles and a population of 284,114. Here there had been a failure of the upland rice and of other upland crops which could not be artificially irrigated except at prohibitive cost. In both areas the country is undulating, fertile valleys being interspersed with jungle and sterile uplands, and the streams which traverse it are practically hill torrents. The population, largely aboriginal, with a marked aversion to regular work, subsists almost wholly on agriculture, the all-important crop being the winter rice; spring crops are of small importance, and the proportion of *bhadoi* crops is less than elsewhere. Outside these areas there was distress in the Damīn portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision, and in the Goddā subdivision generally, which was met by charitable relief.

For the purpose of carrying on relief operations, a special scheme of organization was prepared in January 1897, the basis of which was the utilization of the local agency by which so much of the district work is done. The principle of the plan was to divide each subdivision into charges, each under an officer of the grade of *kānungo*, and to divide the charges into circles, which were placed under committees of headmen of villages and leading ryots. For each circle the necessary works were selected from the famine programme, and it was ascertained what traders

were ready to furnish a supply of food on payment. In the event of scarcity being found to prevail, the charge in which it prevailed was to have a special Superintendent with a sufficient staff, and the circle committees were to have lump sums of Rs. 10 monthly allowed them to cover expenses. The committees were to take the place of circle officers and to be superseded by such officers where necessary. This plan was sanctioned by Government and was followed in the subsequent operations.

For the distribution of gratuitous relief another special scheme was adopted. The plan was to issue tickets to deserving persons entitling them to receive grain doles from dealers appointed for the purpose. The tickets were divided into four parts, each for a week's food, and were not transferable. These tickets, after being exchanged for food with the dealer, were used as vouchers to his bill, and after it was checked, could be restored to the counterfoil and pasted in. This system proved very successful in reducing account work.

The highest average attendance on relief works was reached in Jāmtārā in the week ending 21st May 1897 and in Deoghar in the week ending 26th June 1897, when the daily average numbers were 3,258 and 1,647 respectively. After this, when the season for ploughing and cultivation came on, there was much fluctuation in the attendance ; but in both subdivisions the relief works were finally closed on the 15th August, when the gathering of the Indian corn and *mahuā* crops enabled the able-bodied to find employment. In Jāmtārā the Government relief works consisted exclusively of roads with irrigation dams, where these could be made, on the line of road. In Deoghar the principal work was the excavation of tanks and making of reservoirs, but as the rainy season approached, road improvement was also begun. All the works were carried out by the civil works agency and none by the Public Works Department. In Jāmtārā relief works were begun with the task-work system of the Famine Code, but piece-work was introduced after the 1st week of June 1897. In Deoghar piece-work alone was adopted. The total number of workers was 263,375 in Jāmtārā and 80,453 in Deoghar ; and the aggregate number of persons gratuitously relieved from Government funds was 523,614.

FLOODS. Owing to the completeness of the natural drainage of the district, floods are almost impossible over a large area, but narrow stretches of land in the valleys, and considerable portions of the alluvial country lying between the Ganges and the Rājmahāl Hills, are liable to inundation when the rivers are swollen by sudden rain. In the former tract of country, however, the floods

subside after a few days, leaving the crops uninjured; while in the alluvial country any damage done to the lowland crops is compensated by the additional fertility of the high lands.

The only destructive flood within recent years is that which occurred early in the morning of Sunday, the 24th September 1899. This flood was caused by very heavy local rainfall, which began on the afternoon of the 23rd. It continued raining all that night, and the wind, which first blew from the south-east, veered round through south, south-west and west, till in the early hours of Sunday the 24th it became a hurricane from the north-west. The rain gauge at Goddā registered 10·12 inches of rain at 8 A.M. that morning, and it ceased raining there at about 10 A. M. The rainfall extended all over the country from Bhāgalpur and the Ganges on the north to the Santāl Parganas on the south and Rājmahāl on the east; but the centre of the storm appears to have been on the northern slopes of the Dāmīn-i-koh in the Goddā subdivision, a hilly tract draining through narrow valleys into the low-lying land south of the Ganges. These slopes discharged an enormous volume of water, for which the river channels, raised above the level of the plain, could not provide sufficient outlet. The swollen rivers swept away the hamlets lying in their upland valleys, and uniting their volume below, poured over the villages in the low lands. Fortunately, the Ganges was low, and the floods, widening the outlets through the bridge on the East Indian Railway, passed away rapidly. Flood of 1899.

The loss of life was deplorably great both in the Santāl Parganas and Bhāgalpur. The rivers rose soon after midnight, and in the uplands the villagers were still asleep, and were swept away without the warning that would have enabled them to reach higher ground. The velocity of the flood in its earlier course is shown by the fact that, though 881 men were drowned there, only 69 bodies were recovered. When it reached the plains, the dawn was breaking, and the wall of the advancing waters could be plainly seen. There was, however, no place of refuge on the treeless level, and there no less than 762 persons perished. Thus in all, 1,643 lives were lost, many families wholly disappeared, and in some cases entire hamlets left no trace behind. The loss of property was happily less severe, for though 246 villages were injured, 25,555 huts destroyed, 13,705 cattle and goats drowned, and altogether 123 square miles exposed to the violence of the flood, yet the water passed away so rapidly, that the crops were saved.

In the Santāl Parganas 95 villages and upwards of 10,000 huts were destroyed or damaged, 881 lives were lost, and 6,000 cattle

were drowned. The floods came down 10 rivers in the Goddā subdivision, viz., the Chir, Gonkha, Kajia, Bheria, Parna, Harna, Rajdar, Aincha, Sundar and Khuti. Of these, the Chir is known as the Gerua after it has received the waters of the Gonkha, Kajia Parna, Harna and Bheria; and the next largest river is the Kajia; but the Harna and the Khuti were responsible for the greatest damage. The severity of the flood was all the greater because the banks of most of the rivers are higher than the surrounding country, which consequently became flooded to a great depth. In many cases, indeed, a wall of water poured through the villages, averaging from 5 to 12 feet, and the Khuti river was described as being a moving sea. Some idea of its volume may be gathered from the fact that though the flood in this river came down between 5 and 6 A. M., when it was getting light and people were astir, no less than 267 persons were drowned and only 2 dead bodies were recovered.

In spite of the extent of the disaster, but little relief was required. The people, in a spirit of sturdy independence, refused charitable relief except for the immediate needs of the moment and preferred to obtain assistance in the form of loans. Those whose crops were destroyed, and whose fields were covered with sand, declined the profferred alms and turned to sow the sand with castor oil and linseed. In all, only Rs. 1,350 were expended in charity and Rs. 5,982 were advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORESTS.*

THE State forests of the Santāl Parganas are situated in the Dāmīn-i-koh, a Goverment estate which was administered direct by Government from 1765 onwards and was excluded from the Permanent Settlement. The early position of Government towards this estate was defined in a resolution recorded by the Government of India in 1823 on the report of Mr. Sutherland. In that resolution it was laid down that the excesses to which the hill people were driven by the cruelty of the zamīndārs and others to whom they had been abandoned, had obliged Government to resume the entire tract and bring it under its direct management. Government thus succeeded to all the rights previously held by the zamīndārs, the inhabitants of both the hills and the adjacent forests becoming its direct tenants; the claims of the zamīndārs to the forests were specifically set aside; and the right of property in the Dāmīn-i-koh was declared to be at the disposal of the State. HISTORY.

In accordance with this declaration, Government assessed rents on cultivation, but went no further, and in 1862, when the question arose of applying the waste land rules to the estate, the Commissioner held that though the Pahārias were clearly liable to pay rent whenever Government chose to demand it, they had rights accruing from long occupation. Indeed, Government having been satisfied in 1823 with the mere declaration of its rights, and having never enforced them, the Pahārias had come to consider as a right what had been conceded as an indulgence, and had bought and sold the hills as if they were their own property. In these circumstances, the local Government was of opinion that Government could not sell the hills on which the Pahārias lived, or which they cultivated; and that if uninhabited hills were granted in order that they might be reclaimed and cultivated, the grants

* A note contributed by Mr. A. H. Mee, formerly in charge of the Santal Parganas, Forest Division, forms the basis of this account.

could only be made in accordance with some special arrangement to be come to with the Pahārias. The Government of India then decided that the claim of the hillmen to the occupancy of the uninhabited hills in which they derived an income from jungle produce, and which they might at any time bring into cultivation, was too substantial a claim, and had been too distinctly recognized by Government, to be set aside in favour of new purchasers.

In 1871 a scheme for demarcating Government forests in the estate was brought forward, and an officer was deputed to examine them. According to his report, the area suitable for conservancy was estimated at 200 square miles, but the scheme was abandoned, as it was thought an inopportune time to introduce the Forest Act and Rules owing to the unrest among the Santāls. In 1875, the then Lieutenant Governor, Sir Richard Temple, again took up the question of conservancy, on the ground that Government had a valuable forest property, which it not only failed to develop properly, but allowed to be cut and wasted recklessly. It was, accordingly, determined to apply the Forest Act and Rules to a portion of the estate; and Dr. Schlich, then Conservator of Forests, recommended, as the result of enquiries made by one of his officers, that a tract south of the Bānsloi river (with an estimated area of 40 square miles) should be constituted reserved forest and managed by the Forest Department. This proposal involved the transplantation of 48 Pahāria villages and was vigorously opposed by the local civil officers; but, in spite of their protests, Government issued a notification on the 10th July 1876 declaring this tract (now known as the "Old Reserve" with an area of 36 square miles) to be a reserved forest governed by the provisions of Act VII of 1865. It was subsequently discovered that that Act had not been extended to the Santāl Parganas, but this defect was remedied by a notification of the 24th July 1876.

Next year the Old Reserve was transferred from the Forest Department to the management of the Deputy Commissioner and the policy to be pursued was laid down as follows:—"The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that it is not politic or expedient to introduce a strict system of conservancy into the reserved forest tract in the Santāl Parganas. His Honour, therefore, directs that the conservancy of these forests shall rest with the civil officers, who will carry out a rough system of conservancy, preserving the valuable parts of the forests from destruction and regulating the cutting of trees within the boundary of the reserved tract." The officer selected for the administration of this system was Mr. Cosserat, who in

1878 drew up rules for the management of the reserved forest and in 1879 made a settlement of the forest villages. In accordance with his recommendation, Government in 1880 prohibited the cutting of *sāl* trees in the settled area of the Dāmin-i-koh, except where the Deputy Commissioner sanctioned felling for the purposes of reclamation. Next year the question of extending the system of conservancy was further considered. It was found that the only Pahārias who had forest rights of importance, and who were largely dependent on *jhūm* cultivation, were the Maler in the north of the Rājmahāl Hills, where there was no forest worth reserving. All the valuable forest lay to the south of the river Bānsloi, where *jhūming* had practically ceased. It was, therefore, decided that all attempts at conservancy in the Maler country north of the Bansloi should be given up and that the whole wood-bearing area in the Māl Pahāria country to the south should be constituted either reserved or open Government forest.

Accordingly, in 1881 the Old Reserve was notified as a reserved forest under Act VII of 1865, and all other waste lands in *tappas* Mārpal, Daurpal and Kumārpal (constituting the Māl Pahāria country), which were covered with trees or jungle, were declared to be open forest, *sāl*, *āsan*, *sisu*, *satsal*, fruit and other trees especially marked for preservation being reserved. In 1883 Mr. J. S. Gamble, who, as Conservator of Forests, had examined the forests in the Santāl Parganas the year before, proposed that they should be made protected forests and that their management should be made over to the Forest Department, the officers of which were to work under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner. This proposal was supported by the local officers, and the Indian Forest Act (VII of 1878), which took the place of Act VII of 1865, was extended in 1886 to the Santāl Parganas by Regulation III of that year. From that time the "Old Reserve" ceased to be a reserved forest.

Eventually, in 1894 all land, the property of Government, which had not been settled with cultivators, was constituted protected forest under the Indian Forest Act, subject to all existing rights of individuals or communities in the Sauriā country, *i.e.*, the hilly tract inhabited by the Maler or Sauriā Pahārias, which covers the Dāmin-i-koh throughout the Rājmahāl subdivision and the north of the Goddā subdivision and is bounded on the south by the Torai river, Katni hill and Gangor river. The protected forests so formed were placed in charge of the Forest Department, a Deputy Conservator being posted to the district next year. The departmental system of management was, however, found not to be sufficiently elastic for

the Maler. Their *jhūm* cultivation was subjected to restrictions, the number of reserved trees was increased, and the removal and sale of timber and forest produce by them were subjected to stricter conditions. Accordingly, in December 1900 the Sauriā tract, with the exception of 10 square miles of 'closed blocks', was transferred from the management of the Forest Department to that of the Deputy Commissioner and his Subdivisional Officers, the area so transferred being 143 square miles. The only administrative change of importance which has taken place since that year was the separation in 1904 of the Hazāribāgh forests from those of the Santāl Parganas, which till then were managed as one division under the Forest Department.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The protected forests now under the management of the Forest Department constitute the Santāl Parganas Forest Division. They have an area of 292 square miles and are situated in the Dumkā, Goddá and Pākaur subdivisions. The best and most heavily wooded portion consists of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumkā subdivision, which extends over 36 square miles and is situated in hilly country having an elevation of 600 to 1,700 feet. In this tract three or four square miles are under cultivation or may be cultivated at the will of the occupants, but the remaining portion is nearly all wooded and is closed to cultivation. In the remaining forests the growth is, as a rule, poor, but some portions are well wooded and contain trees of considerable value, among which *sāl* predominates. The forests nearly all occupy hilly country, consisting of hill ranges with gentle slopes and broad rounded crests, and of intervening valleys, which are usually broad. The soil is fairly fertile and deep, but patches of much cut-up country, on which the soil is poor and the growth scant and stunted, occur throughout the Division, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the hills outside the "Old Reserve."

In all the forest area *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) is found in greater or less abundance, usually accompanied by *kend* (*Diospyros Melanoxylon*), which, however, never attains useful size, and, in the Old Reserve, by bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*). Over a considerable portion of the area *sāl* is represented by scattered poles and trees up to, and in some cases over, 5 feet in girth, this being usually the case on the upper slopes and crests of the ridges. Here also are situated most of the cultivated lands some of which still contain a fair number of trees 3 feet and upwards in girth. In the valleys and along the lower slopes poles of *sāl* and other trees are, generally speaking, far more dense, but

the crop rarely consists of pure *sāl*, and trees of that species with a girth of 3 feet are scarce.

Twenty-three species of trees have been reserved under section 29 of the Forest Act, *i.e.*, they may not be cut, except when under 2 feet in girth, without the written permission of the Forest Officer. Of these the most important, next to *sāl*, are *āsan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *murga* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), ebony (*Diospyros Melanoxylon*), *satsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*), *kusum* (*Schleichera Trijuga*), and *Ougeinia dalbergioides*, the last two species being rare. The unreserved trees most commonly met with are *parop* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hat* (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*), *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Woodfordia floribunda* and *Croton oblongifolius*. Bamboos are abundant in parts, mostly on the upper slopes and crests of ridges, but few are found in the forests outside the Old Reserve, though a moderate number are obtainable from the hilly parts of the Pākaur and Goddā ranges. *Sabai* grass (*Ischæmum angustifolium*) and a coarse form of thatching grass, known locally as *khar*, are found in similar localities and in the depressions on the higher slopes and the summits of the hills.

The most important minor products are the corolla of the flower and the fruit (*korchra*) of the *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The former, which is fleshy and sweet, is eaten either raw or cooked, and a coarse spirit is also prepared from it. The outer coat of the latter is eaten raw or cooked, the inner coat is dried and ground into flour, while from the kernel a greenish oil or butter is obtained, which is used for adulterating *ghī*. The propagation of silk cocoons is carried on to a considerable extent, the tree most used being the *āsan*. The product of the lac insect is also propagated in large quantities throughout the forests lying outside the Old Reserve, the trees used for the purpose being the *palās* (*Butea frondosa*) and the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*). Other minor products are :—the fruit of the *amlā* (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), *baherā* (*Terminalia belerica*) and *harrā* (*Terminalia Chebula*), the fruit of a creeper known as *triphalā*, the fruit of the tamarind, *sabaī* grass, *ghuting* or *kankar*, *i.e.*, the calcareous nodules used for metalling roads, white clay, building stone, and coke and coal of inferior quality.

ADMINISTRATION.

The forests under the management of the Forest Department are divided into three ranges. The Dumkā Dāmin Range, which includes the Old Reserve, is managed by a Forest Ranger with the help of a Forester and eleven guards, one for each of the "Bungalows" or revenue divisions in which the forests are situated. The Goddā and Pākaur Ranges are managed by a Deputy Ranger

and Forester with seven and eleven guards respectively, one guard being allowed for the forests of each "Bungalow." Several *hāts* or markets are specially set apart for the sale of minor products by the ryots, and of timber removed from *jhūms* or *kurāo* areas by Pahārias. There are four such *hāts* in the Dumkā Damin, two in the Goddā Dāmin, and five in the Pākaur Dāmin; all the *hāts* are farmed out to lessees. The entire staff, permanent and temporary, is under the control of the Divisional Forest Officer, whose headquarters are at Dumkā. The power to frame rules for the management of the forests rests, however, with the Deputy Commissioner, and no land may be cleared for cultivation without his permission given in writing.

No systematic plan for the development of the forests outside the Old Reserve has yet been attempted owing to their distribution and the uncertainty regarding the extent to which the exercise of rights (*e.g.*, of grazing) in them can be regulated. The forests have simply been protected, and fellings have been carefully regulated to meet the requirements of the Government ryots, that being the main purpose which they now serve. In the Sauriā tract situated in the Goddā Dāmin the forests are closed to both cutting and grazing, but infringements of the rules to this effect are of frequent occurrence. The Old Reserve has been worked on a more or less continuous and systematic plan since it came under the management of the Forest Department in May 1895. Along the lower slopes, where there is a comparatively dense growth of more or less pure *sāl*, and where the poles rarely exceed three feet in girth, yearly fellings on the "coppice by standard system" have been carried out, the area dealt with being regulated by the demand. This area has of recent years been gradually increased, and it is hoped that it will be possible to dispose of the produce of 100 acres yearly, as fresh markets are opened out. *Sāl* poles and fuel cut from such coppice fellings now find their way over the entire district and beyond its confines into outlying districts. It has been estimated that coppice shoots of *sâl* attain to an exploitable girth in the course of 30 to 40 years, which is the rotation fixed on. Yearly selection fellings of trees, five feet and over in girth, are also made over restricted areas to meet the demand for large timber, which is greatly in excess of the supply. The exploitable limit for trees removed under the selection fellings was until 1904-05 three feet, but is now five feet. The number of trees cut out yearly under this system of felling is, on an average, about 80. To meet the demand for bamboos, which are purchased by persons from all parts of the district, the forests containing them have been

divided up into three parts, which are worked in rotation, 300,000 to 500,000 bamboos being cut annually; depôts for their sale are fixed every year.

All ryots of the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate having occupancy rights are entitled to the privileges accorded to ryots by Regulation III of 1872 in the protected forests of the Division inclusive of the Old Reserve area. All cultivating ryots of the estate can remove free of charge trees of any unreserved species for their own use from forest areas situated within their village boundaries. The grazing of cattle and the removal of fuel and fodder from forests within their respective village boundaries are also permitted free of charge. Trees of the specially reserved species (numbering in all 23) are sold to the villagers from their village forests at half the ordinary rates in force, and trees of the unreserved kinds, if taken from areas other than their village forests, are paid for at half the scheduled rates. Further, the entire area comprised within the protected forests may be thrown open to them in times of scarcity. For their part, the ryots and the village headmen are responsible for the protection of the forests within their jurisdictions, and are required to help in forest management when called on to do so. RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE

The privilege of selling minor forest products at *hāts* specially set apart for this purpose was granted to all ryots of the Government estate at the last settlement, and Pahāria ryots are specially privileged to remove trees of the unreserved species, under two feet in girth, from their respective village forests for sale at localized *hāts*. In the Goddā and Pākaur Dāmin special areas have been set apart for Pahāria ryots for the purpose of *kurāo* or shifting cultivation. From such areas they are permitted to take trees, both reserved and unreserved, up to two feet in girth to the nearest *hāt* for sale or barter. Pahārias resident in the Dumkā Dāmin are not allowed to practise shifting cultivation. The practice was stopped some 20 years back, and the same prohibition holds good in regard to certain forest blocks in the Goddā Dāmin Range, known locally as the "closed blocks", which are situated within the Karmātārh, Rajabhitha and Simrā "Bungalows" of the Goddā subdivision.

There is no regular system of fire conservancy in force. *Parganaits*, or the heads of all the villages of a "Bungalow", with the help of the villagers, are required to clear boundary lines and render assistance in the event of a fire breaking out in the forest near their villages. Rules for the protection of the forests from fire are framed by the Deputy Commissioner. The protection from fire of the forests of the Old Reserve and the closed blocks PROTECTION.

of the Goddā Dāmin is the most important feature of this work, and has been fairly effectively carried out by *parganaits*, headmen and villagers, under the supervision of the Forest Ranger in the case of the Old Reserve, and of the Deputy Ranger in charge of the Range in the case of the closed blocks. Villagers have everywhere the right to graze their cattle both inside and outside those forests in all places where they are by custom entitled to graze, but the grazing of goats and sheep is not permitted.

CHAPTER IX.

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

THE rent system in the Santāl Parganas differs from that prevalent in the Regulation districts of Bengal, because, under the provisions of the Santāl agrarian law, rents are settled by officers of Government; when once settled they remain unchanged for a period of 15 years unless enhancement is allowed by the Deputy Commissioner on account of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor; and on the expiry of that period they cannot be altered except by officers of Government working under its direct control. The first special rent law of the Santāl Parganas was Regulation III of 1872, which was the result of an agrarian agitation directed chiefly against excessive and arbitrary enhancement of rents by the zamīndārs. This Regulation empowered Government to order a settlement by which the rents payable by ryots and headmen could be fixed at 'fair and equitable' rates, and by section 19 provided that the rents fixed at the first settlement should remain unchanged for not less than 7 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement or agreement should be made. In accordance with these provisions a settlement was carried out by Mr. Browne Wood between 1872 and 1879, which was of such importance in the economic history of the district that it may be described at some length. RENTS.

The settlement of the zamīndāri estates was completed by November 1878, the rules and principles observed in this part of the operations being as follows:—(1) In 'community' or Santāl villages no detailed measurement of the holdings was attempted, but the total area of the village was estimated by local inspection, the system being called *nazar paimāish*, or measurement by sight. In non-community villages, inhabited by Bengalis and others, a measurement of each man's holding was carried out, unless there Rent settlements.

had been previous measurements of recent date by which the parties were willing to abide. (2) The lands of each village were classified and assessed at varying rates according to the crops grown on them, the best low or rice lands being placed in the first class, and the least productive high lands in the last class. (3) The rental to be paid to the zamīndār by the lessee or headman of the village was fixed at the aggregate of the total assessments on the different classes of land. (4) Existing rents were as nearly as possible maintained, provided they did not vary much from the rates prevailing in neighbouring villages. (5) In non-community villages the amount due from each cultivator was fixed by the Settlement Department; but in Santāl villages only a lump assessment for the entire village was made, and the headman and ryots were required to ascertain, by means of a *panchayat*, the quantity of land of each class held by the villagers individually, and to distribute the village assessment accordingly. This system was found to work badly, and the officers had generally to interpose in order to have the distribution of the rent completed (6) In addition to the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer, the village headman or lessee was declared entitled to levy a commission on each ryot's assessment, as compensation for his trouble in collecting the rents for the zamīndār. The commission was reduced proportionately according to the quantity of land held by the headman for his own cultivation. This land was assessed in common with the other lands of the village, but the headman was permitted to hold rent-free, during the continuance of his lease all fresh lands brought under cultivation by himself, and to realize from the ryots half rents on similar lands reclaimed by them.

The results of the settlement in the zamīndāri estates may be thus summed up. The total rental realized by the zamīndārs at the time of settlement (exclusive of cesses, which amounted to a very considerable amount) was Rs. 9,96,613, while the total rental fixed by the Settlement Officer was Rs. 10,98,835, giving a clear increase of Rs. 1,02,222 in favour of the zamīndārs. In spite of the increase of rent, the ryots received very substantial benefits from this settlement. Except in a few estates the rates of rent were found very moderate by the Settlement Officer, but they represented a portion only of the charges with which the ryots were burdened. In addition to rent, there was a multiplicity of cesses, which increased very considerably the amounts taken by the zamīndārs. It was by disallowing these, and prohibiting their realization in future, that the settlement chiefly benefited the tenants. The total of the imposts of which they were thus

relieved cannot be estimated, but it was undoubtedly very large. The settlement, moreover, protected both headmen and ryots from enhancement at the zamīndār's will, and secured them in the enjoyment of the rights attaching to their office and lands respectively, which were notified in the record-of-rights. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the endeavour to maintain as far as possible the existing rents resulted in a great unevenness of the incidence of rental, which, having been scarcely affected by subsequent resettlement, still persists and is likely to be more or less permanent.

The settlement of the Dāmin-i-koh was commenced immediately after the completion of the zamīndāri portion of the district, and was brought to a close in September 1879. The estate had been previously settled in 1868, when the Government revenue was raised from Rs. 56,060 to Rs. 1,00,165, the total number of villages ascertained being 1,481. In Mr. Browne Wood's settlement 1,775 agricultural villages and 33 bazars were found and assessed, the total assessment being Rs. 1,77,495. In land revenue alone there was an increase of 80 per cent., but this large increase of revenue was due entirely to the extension of cultivation, and not to any enhancement of the rates of assessment. On the contrary, the average rent settled was a little less than 3½ annas per *bighā*, whereas the rental of 1868 was estimated to give a general average of 5½ annas per *bighā*.

As in the case of Santāl villages in the zamīndāri estates, no detailed measurement of every ryot's holding was carried out, but the lands of each village were measured and assessed as a whole, the distribution of the total rental among individual ryots being left to a *panchāyat* of the villagers. The rates fixed for the different classes of land were less than those in the adjoining zamīndāri estates, but the benefit of those rates was not extended to non-Santāl cultivators. The total cultivated area upon which revenue was assessed was 902,873 *bighās*, and the land revenue upon this amounted to Rs. 1,69,456. The balance of the receipts (Rs. 8,039) was derived from what were termed the "Sundry Mahāls" consisting of bazar and fishery rents, a *basauri* tax, *i.e.*, a kind of ground rent levied from non-agricultural tenants, such as weavers and potters, and from a few shop-keepers and *mahājans*.

In 1886 an important change in the rent law of the district was effected by the enactment of Regulation II of that year, which repealed section 19 of Regulation III of 1872, and provided that rents should not be changed except by the Deputy Commissioner in proceedings instituted under its provisions or by

the Settlement Officer in proceedings under Regulation III of 1872. It gave the Lieutenant-Governor power to order settlements under the latter Regulation from time to time, and laid down that rents settled under either Regulation should remain in force for 15 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement was made. The latter provision was of especial importance, as it did away with the power of altering rents by contract and made it impossible for proprietors to enhance them except under the provisions of this or the older Regulation.

As soon as the new Regulation was passed, applications for a settlement revision began to come in from numerous proprietors. Their request was sanctioned, orders being passed that the cost of the work should be borne by the applicants themselves, and not, as at the first settlement, by Government. It was also decided that the revision settlement should be conducted under Regulation III of 1872 and not under Regulation II of 1886, which is better suited for small areas and individual villages than for the conduct of large settlements. The late Mr. Craven was appointed Settlement Officer in 1888 and completed the work of revision in 1894, an area of 1,579 square miles being dealt with. The revision of the settlement of the remainder of the district (except some small areas which have been excluded from the operations) was begun in 1899 and was completed in 1906, having been conducted by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., except during the last 18 months of that period when the operations were in charge of Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S., who has since taken up the resettlement of 1,579 square miles resettled by Mr. Craven in 1888-94. The latter operations, which form the first portion of the third resettlement of the district, are now in progress. Since the inception of the proceedings the rent law has been further amended by the enactment of Regulation III of 1907, by which the Deputy Commissioner may, during the currency of a settlement, allow an enhanchment of rents on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor.

Rent rates.

The rent settlement is based on a classification of soils, cultivable land being divided into five classes, viz., three kinds of *dhāni* or rice land and two kinds of *bāri* or high land. *Dhāni* lands are classified according to the degree in which they are protected from drought, viz., first class *dhāni*, which is well protected or irrigated, (2) second class *dhāni*, which is partially protected, (3) third class *dhāni*, which is unprotected, (4) first class *bāri* or land near homesteads, which is well manured and bears more than one crop in the year, and (5) second class *bāri*, including the remainder of the cultivation on dry uplands, which is not

manured and bears only one crop in the year. The average rent rates for each class of land as fixed at Mr. McPherson's settlement are shown in the margin. As the three classes of *dhāni* land are almost equally divided, while the proportion of first class *bāri* to second class *bāri* is about 1 to 3, it follows that the average rice rate is about Rs. 2 per acre, and the average *bāri* rate about 8 annas. The aggregate assessment is Rs. 16,25,004; but one-sixth of the assessment has been wholly remitted for the currency of the settlement, in consequence of rules allowing remissions to prevent the hardship of heavy enhancements and to compensate ryots for improvements effected by them. As regards the improvements, the rules provided that if a ryot could prove that improvements in the class of his land had been caused by his own efforts during the currency of the expiring settlement, such exertion not being in the ordinary course of agriculture but a special undertaking, such as the making of a *bāndh* to catch water, or the blocking and reclaiming of the bed of a watercourse, he might claim that the land in question should for the new settlement be placed in its natural class and not in the class to which it had been raised by his improvements.

Class of land.	Rent rate per acre.
	Rs. A.
First class *dhāni*	3 0
Second " "	2 0
Third " "	1 0
First " *bāri*	1 0
Second " "	0 4

The following table gives the salient rent statistics of Mr. McPherson's settlement :—

	Zamīndāri estates.	Dāmin-i-koh.	Total.
Last settlement ryoti area ...	485,734 acres	276,291 acres	762,025 acres.
Present " " " (assessed).	890,041 "	375,267 "	1,265,308 "
Percentage of increase ...	84	36	66
Last settlement rent ...	Rs. 6,99,503	Rs. 1,67,191	Rs. 8,66,694
Average per acre	Re. 1-7-0	Re. 0-9-9	Re. 1-2-3
Existing rent	Rs. 7,73,157	Rs. 1,74,155	Rs. 9,47,312
Settlement rent for first five years.	" 10,14,151	" 2,48,858	" 12,63,009
Average per acre	Re. 1-2-0	Re. 0-10-9	Re. 1-0-0
Settlement rent from 6th year	Rs. 10,70,025	Rs. 2,67,929	Rs. 13,37,954
Average per acre	Re. 1-3-0	Re. 0-11-6	Re. 1-1-0

The only areas in which *jamābandi* or occupancy ryots are assessed to rent for homestead lands are the *khās* Bengali villages

Rent of homestead lands.

along the borders of the Bīrbhūm, Murshidābād, and Mālda districts. In *pargana* Sultānābād there is a curious custom by which each village pays a fixed sum for its homestead lands, the ryots themselves arranging what amounts shall be paid by the individual villagers. The total contribution amounts to Rs. 1,500, and is dedicated by the proprietor to the worship of Singhabāhinī, the tutelary goddess of the *pargana*. In other parts of the Bengali area there are fixed rates for homestead land, and the amount payable by each ryot is amalgamated with his ordinary agricultural rent. In the *khās* villages of *pargana* Muhammadābād, Brāhmans, Kāyasths, Baidyas, Rājputs, Vaisyas and Muhammadans are privileged classes exempted from the payment of homestead rents.

Bazar and *basauri* rents.

The rents of non-agricultural tenants are called *basauri*, and there is a distinction between them and bazar rents, which, however, is more or less nominal. Where non-agriculturists are congregated together in bazars, they are called bazar tenants: when they are scattered about agricultural villages, they are called *basauri* tenants. The bazars of the Dāmin-i-koh were, in Mr. McPherson's settlement, divided into 3 classes according to their importance, and rent rates varying from 3 annas to Re. 1 per *kathā* were fixed for each class, according to the class of land and of its holder, traders paying different rents from artisans, labourers, etc. For *basauri* tenants outside bazars the rates were fixed at 6 annas per *kathā* for traders and at 3 annas per *kathā* for non-traders.

Bhāoli.

Produce rents were at one time prevalent in the Goddā subdivision, where, under the *bhāoli* system, the ryot retained half the produce of his land and made over the other half to his landlord, but at the first settlement, under the powers given to him by law, Mr. Wood abolished the system and substituted cash rents at village rates. "This system," writes Mr. W. B. Oldham "in its essence was one of temporary arrangements suitable for persons on terms of confidence, intimacy and equality, like friends and relatives, or agriculturists and their farm labourers, or among fellow villagers. But when these contracts were entered into as a permanent system between proprietors and alien tenants like the Santāls, they were invariably attended with great abuses. The abuses Mr. Wood discovered were allied to those attending the system of servitude by debtors, against which Sir William Robinson had waged war. Mr. Wood substituted fair and equitable money rents."*

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* Reprint of the Laws of the Santāl Parganas.

After the first settlement the *bhāoli* system made its reappearance in the shape of contracts between ryots and their under-tenants. It was a convenient form of sub-lease for usurers, who during the first decade after Mr. Wood's settlement purchased ryoti rights, but were unable to cultivate the lands themselves. The growth of the practice was checked by the courts ruling that a ryot could not recover rent from his sub-lessee at higher than village rates, and later by the provisions of section 25 of Regulation II of 1886, which enabled the Deputy Commissioner to protect an actual cultivator from eviction. This section was applied to *bhāolidārs* until 1896, when Mr. W. B. Oldham, the then Commissioner, ruled that a *bhāolidār* was not protected by it and might be evicted by the courts without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner on the application of the original ryot, provided that such application was not to be granted till the *bhāolidār* had reaped his crop, and no demand of rent was to be enforceable through the courts.

At Mr. McPherson's settlement special orders were passed regarding the status of *bhāolidārs*. It was laid down that a *bhāolidār*, *i e.*, a person cultivating land and giving a share of the produce to his landlord as consideration, when holding under a ryot, was not ordinarily to be recognized as a sub-lessee or to be recorded at all, provided that when the *bhāolidār* had been cultivating the same land continuously for 12 years or upwards, or had been led to expect that his occupation would be permanent, he should be recorded as the *jamābandi* or occupancy ryot. Where the *bhāolidār* was a resident ryot paying *bhāoli* rent for land originally on the village *jamābandi* to a person who had not acquired a right of occupancy by actual cultivation of the land, the *bhāolidār* was recorded as the *jamabāndi* ryot. Special rules were also laid down regarding *bhāolidārs* holding under *pradhāns* or under landlords in *khās* villages. It was provided that if the land held by the *bhāolidār* was such as the *pradhān* or landlord was bound to settle with the village ryots at settlement rates, the *bhāolidār* should be made a *jamābandi* ryot if he was a resident ryot or otherwise duly qualified to be a cultivating ryot of the village. If, however, he was an outsider who should not be admitted to the village, he was to be evicted and the land settled with duly qualified *jamābandi* ryots. Where the land held by the *bhāolidār* was the *pradhān's* true private *jot* or the landlord's true *nij-jot*, *khās kāmāt* or *sir*, the *bhāoli* contract was not to be recognized at all. In its prohibition of sub-letting either on cash or produce rents, the settlement record makes an exception of temporary arrangements entered into by ryots for

the cultivation of their lands on account of sickness, loss of plough cattle, temporary absence and the like exigencies.

WAGES.

The following table shows the rates of daily wages paid for different classes of labour in the last fortnight of March during the last 14 years :—

	1895.	1900.	1906.	1909.
	As. P.	As. P.	As. P.	As. P.
Masons	4 0 to 8 3	2 6 to 10 0	2 6 to 10 0	5 0 to 12 0
Carpenters ...	4 0 to 8 9	2 6 to 10 0	2 6 to 10 0	5 0 to 10 0
Coolies (male adult) ...	2 3 to 2 6	2 0 to 3 0	2 0 to 3 6	2 0 to 3 0
Coolies (female adult)	1 6	1 3 to 1 6	1 3 to 2 3	1 6 to 2 0

On the whole, there has been a rise in the wages paid for labour during recent years, largely owing to the increasing demand for labourers caused by the extension of building operations, especially in Madhupur and Deoghar, and also by the opening of new railway lines, stone quarries and lac factories. The system of paying labourers in kind is common, particularly in the case of landless labouring cultivators called *krishāns* to whom the owner of the land gives one-third of the produce. Advances made to them are deducted at the *derhi* rate in the case of paddy, *i.e.*, the cultivator repays 1½ seers at harvest time for each seer advanced to him at the time of cultivation, while cash advances bear interest of 20 per cent. per annum.

Supply of labour.

The following account of the supply of labour in the Santāl Parganas is quoted from a report submitted by the Deputy Commissioner in August 1907. "Labourers migrate from the Santāl Parganas in large numbers annually, some to a distance for long periods, others to neighbouring districts for short spells, while field-work at their homes is slack. The tea gardens of Assam and Bengal have a great attraction for the people of this district; and the sturdy Pahārias and industrious Santāls alike make excellent tea garden coolies. Both resent too much restraint and require tactful management, which, however, is well repaid. They expect frequent holidays, but while at work

they labour hard. Their favourite drink, *pachwai*, at times renders them unfit for work, but it is thought by some to be a preventive against malaria. The coal-mines are in ill-repute with the Santâl, for many a cooly has been lured to Rânīganj by promises of well-paid work, and thence hurried off to Assam against his wish. Prejudices die hard, and it may be long before this one is removed; meanwhile, both gardens and collieries suffer. Still, the supply of labour to the mines from this district is considerable, and it is not likely to fall off. Jāmtarā and Deoghar are within easy reach of Asansol, and the fear of bad livelihood prosecutions drives many bad characters from the Dumkā subdivision to the mines.

"Eastern Bengal and the country near the Ganges attract many agricultural labourers from the Santāl Parganas, and Mālda and Dinâjpur many earth-workers. This year some 700 coolies have been supplied by this district for local works in various places, viz., the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong town, Rāngāmātī, Jessore and the Sundarbans. The first demand for this kind of labour came from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the men were handled with such tact that they came forward in large numbers for similar work elsewhere. The Sundarbans men, however, are discontented, and those sent to Jessore have actually deserted. The probability is that volunteers will now be scarce for other places than the Hill Tracts and possibly also the town of Chittagong. Deoghar supplies a few men to the jute mills near Calcutta and others to Calcutta itself as porters and coolies The main factors which determine the extent of migration from this district are the harvests and the *mahājans*; and the best season for recruitment is January or February."

The average prices (in seers and chittacks per rupee) of common rice, wheat, barley, gram, maize and salt during the last 4 years for which figures are available are given in the following table:— PRICES.

	1905-06.		1906-07.		1907-08.		1908-09.	
	SR.	CH.	SR.	CH.	SR.	CH.	SR.	CH.
Common rice	12	15	9	2	7	4	10	10
Wheat ...	11	9	9	13	8	7	9	0
Barley ...	19	3	12	14	10	3	11	0
Gram ...	14	9	11	8	10	2	13	5
Maize ...	19	4	13	2	11	11	12	0
Salt ...	14	2	14	5	17	2	16	0

The high prices of food grains ruling in recent years have considerably straitened the circumstances of persons living on small fixed incomes, but have caused a marked rise in the wages of coolies near industrial centres.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The ryots of the Santāl Parganas enjoy several special privileges under the agrarian laws passed for the district. Their rents have been settled by Government officers and cannot be enhanced during the term of the settlement, except on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor. They are protected against *mahājans* by section 6 of Regulation III of 1872, which lays down (1) that interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year shall not be decreed at a higher rate than 2 per cent. per mensem, and no compound interest arising from any intermediate adjustment of accounts shall be decreed; (2) that the total interest decreed on any loan or debt shall never exceed one-fourth of the principal sum if the period be not more than one year, and shall not in any other case exceed the principal of the original debt or loan. It must be admitted, however, that this usury clause has not been altogether effectual, for the *mahājan* often succeeds in making his own terms by the simple expedient of stopping the credit of his debtors without having recourse to the law courts. The ryots are further secured in the possession of their lands by a provision of law prohibiting the transfer of ryoti rights; and in Santāl villages the communal system has been preserved, the village community as a whole holding the village lands and having collective rights over the village waste. So long as a member of the community cultivates his lands and pays his rent to the *pradhān*, or village headman, his lands are his exclusive property. If he fails to pay his rent or wishes to leave his village, his lands revert to the community and the *pradhān* disposes of them. There is, moreover, a safeguard against the latter abusing his authority in that he can be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct. This communal system has fostered and developed a spirit of co-operation of which the results are apparent in many directions. "When," writes Mr. H. McPherson, "one looks back on the enormous improvements that have been effected during the last 30 years by the ryots of the Santāl Parganas without any help from Government or the zamīndārs, as evidenced by the extension of cultivation, the rise in the class of lands, and the number of *bāndhs* that are studded all over the district, one may fairly say that the village community of the Santāl Parganas is sufficiently self-reliant "

The district having been cleared from jungle within a recent period, there has been a rapid extension of the area under cultivation. Although there has been considerable immigration, this expansion has been such as to give comparative ease to the cultivating classes, and it has been accompanied by a marked improvement of the land under cultivation, inferior lands being converted into rice fields, etc. Symptoms of pressure are, it is true, appearing, as the country has been cleared in many parts and inferior land is now being taken up ; but, on the whole, there is no severe pressure, and, the chief grain crops being maize and rice, the double staple reduces the risk of famine. The holdings of the ryots are adequate, the average area of ryoti holdings for which separate rents have been settled at Mr. McPherson's recent settlement being 4·8 acres with a rent of Rs. 4-15, while the average area of *pradhāns'* holdings is 20·4 acres with a rent of Rs. 15-13. It is only natural to find that the average headman's *jot* is about four times the size of the average ryoti holding, for the headman is selected from the wealthier and more influential ryots of the village. As the number of settled rents is less than two-thirds of the total number of holdings, it is clear that many ryots hold more than one and that they were amalgamated at rent settlement.

"It would not," says Mr. McPherson, "be an over-estimate to say that the average amount of land held by each cultivating family in the Santāl Parganas is 7 acres with a rent of Rs. 7-8. Looking to the comparative proportions of rice land and upland cultivation, it may further be said that the average ryot has 3½ acres of rice land and 3½ acres of *bāri* or upland cultivation. The Santāl Parganas ryot has a larger, though in most cases perhaps a poorer, holding than the average ryot elsewhere, and to counterbalance the poverty of his *jot* he has a lower rent to pay. The average does not much exceed one rupee per acre." How low this rent is may be realized from the fact that the average outturn of second class rice land is 20 maunds of paddy per acre, and that the price of common rice during the last 10 years has averaged 13⅓ seers per rupee, corresponding approximately with 21 seers of paddy per rupee. The average produce of rice land may, therefore, be valued at about Rs. 36 per acre, of which the rate rent, taking Rs. 2 to be the average, absorbs only one-eighteenth. If the remission for the current settlement is taken into account it will be found that the ryot pays to his landlord less than one-twentieth of his total produce.

The Santāls, who form a large portion of the population, are particularly well off, for their rents are low and their wants are few ; they have good houses, pigs, poultry, sheep and goats,

besides buffaloes and cattle. As a rule, they get three meals a day, the morning meal being composed of stale rice and salt or vegetables, while the meals at midday and at night consist of a plate of rice, *dāl* and vegetables, also sometimes meat or fish. Besides this, they eat birds and animals of all kinds and the fruit of the *mahuā*, *sāl* and *kend* trees. After *janerā* and *kodo* have been harvested, they are frequently eaten to make some change in the daily food, besides jungle produce and vegetables; and occasionally fruits such as mango, jack, custard-apple and melon are eaten as a luxury.

The Pahārias, on the other hand, especially those in the west of the Rājmahāl Hills, are in a state of great poverty, living from hand to mouth, owing largely to their drunken habits and idleness. Government more than a century ago endeavoured to induce them to clear and cultivate the plains, but failed to do so. The Santāls cleared and occupied the tracts in which the Pahārias used to hunt and collect forest produce, and the latter were driven back up the hills and penned in there. Now in many parts they have not enough to live on, and the little they have they waste in drink. This is no new feature. Over twenty years ago the Subdivisional Officer of Goddā stated that he searched 50 Pahāria houses and did not find so much as the food for the evening meal. All were waiting for the return of the women who had carried firewood for sale in the market and would bring back food.

As regards other classes of the community, artisans are as a rule fully employed. The labouring classes consist chiefly of agricultural labourers, who are engaged as a kind of voluntary bondsmen by cultivators, whose object it is to have cheap labour available when required. The bond is voluntary, the labourer can always emigrate, and he has the advantage of being sure of support in the slack season. Generally speaking those labourers that are unable to obtain steady employment at home go abroad to work on the railways, in the metropolitan districts, or in Eastern Bengal and the tea gardens of Assam.

Of late years some sections of the community have had considerable stress and hardship owing to partial failure of the crops and high prices. The outturn, though short, would, it is reported, have more than sufficed for local wants, but the greater part of it found its way into the granaries of the local money-lenders, and was exported thence for consumption in other districts. The classes most affected are landless day-labourers in the purely agricultural tracts, cultivators whose indebtedness to the *mahājans* prevents them from having sufficient food stocks for the support of their families, and those classes who have small fixed incomes.

The poorer agriculturists, however, obtain considerable help from the grain *golās* in the Court of Wards estates and the Dāmin-i-koh; and the flower of the *mahuā* and other jungle produce and roots help to support the aboriginals in lean years. On the other hand the wages of labourers near industrial centres have risen, and the extension of jute cultivation and the keen demand for the fibre have brought ready money into the hands of the agricultural population occupying the low alluvial strip of country along the Ganges. The development of the lac industry has also enabled many of the aboriginals in the Dāmin-i-koh to make large profits, but they are often squandered in drink.

CHAPTER X.

MINES, MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

MINES.

Coal mines.

THE chief localities in which coal has been worked or exists are:—(1) the Brâhmanī coal-field, between Mosniā and Sāldahā on the Brâhmanī river; (2) the Pachwārā coal field in the Bānsloi valley; (3) the Chaparbhitā coal-field in the Gumāni valley; and (4) the Hurā coal-field north and south of Simrā on the western face of the northern portion of the Rājmahâi Hills. The marginal table gives statistics for the mines at work in 1908, from which it will be apparent that the mines are only worked on a small scale. Formerly, however, there was a considerable output from the Madankata mine, which produced nearly 30,000 tons in 1895 but was closed in 1896. It is reported that the Sultānpur and Palāsthal mines in the Jâmtārā subdivision contain good coal and would be valuable if they had access to the railway and were properly developed; but the Sultānpur mine is at present only worked to supply local demands, and the Palāsthal mine did not work at all in 1908. As a rule, however, the coal is limited in quantity and inferior in quality, and is generally fit only for burning bricks and lime. In the Sultānpur mine a boiler is employed, while in the other mines hand labour only is used for digging out the coal. In the Jāmtārā subdivision the workers are paid Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per 100 cubic feet of coal lifted: in the Goddā and Dumkā subdivisions a man earns two annas daily and a woman one anna six pies.

Name.		Date of opening.	Output in maunds.
Bargo I ...	...	1904	2,576
Bargo II	...	1907	2,400
Dāmanpur Bhalki	...	1908	4,500
Ghātchora	...	1908	750
Katmarki	...	1908	42,000
Sakalma	...	1908	196
Sarsabād	...	1907	1,500
Sultānpui	...	1895	72,464

Quarries.

Stone quarries are worked on a considerable scale along the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway, the stone being used for

ballast on the railway and for road metalling. The best known are those of Mr. Ambler at Mahārājpur and of Mr. Atkinson at Udhuā Nullah, the latter of which was started over 30 years ago. The industry is gradually moving down the Loop Line from the Rājmahāl to the Pākaur subdivision—a movement hastened by the recession of the Ganges from the Rājmahāl bank, by which water communication has been largely cut off.

China-clay has been worked since 1892 at Mangal Hāt: it is extracted from the sandstone by a system of crushing, washing and subsequent settling, and is used by the Calcutta Pottery Company for the manufacture of china and porcelain. In an article * by Mr. Satya Sundar Deb, scholar in ceramics in Japan, this clay is described as being in no way inferior to German or Japanese kaolins. There is also a quantity of china clay at Katangi (near Baskia), Karanpur and Dodhāni, which is quite white and very free from quartz and other mechanical impurities; it is of a powdery, not very plastic variety and resembles Cornish china-clay in physical properties.† China-clay.

Fire-clay is found on the western side of the Rājmahāl Hills. The clays vary in colour from white to purple and blue, and yield bricks which range from dirty-white, fine-textured ware to yellow bricks almost identical in appearance with the best Stourbridge bricks. From the results of experiments on samples of the clay it is stated that it would answer most if not all of the requirements for which Stourbridge clay is at present used in India. Many of the clays are said to be perfectly infusible, and their texture quite as fine and uniform as that of the best Stourbridge clay, and it is believed that they are suitable for such articles as retorts for gas manufacture, as well as for simpler fire-bricks.† Fire-clay.

In 1907-08 a special enquiry was made into the suitability of the sands occurring in this district for glass manufacture. The only river sand suitable for the purpose was found to be the Ganges sand, which is plentiful along the banks of that river. Glass made from a sample obtained at Colgong was found to be of a dark-green colour, owing to the iron contained in the sand, and only suitable for the cheapest and darkest kinds of bottles, such as claret and beer bottles. Such a glass could not be used for the manufacture of medicine or soda water bottles. Treatment with manganese showed that hock bottles could be manufactured from this sand, the combined effects of the iron and Glass sands.

* *Industrial India*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 95.

† Murray Stuart, *China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rājmahāl Hills*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, 1909.

manganese giving the brownish-red, non-actinic colour common in hock bottles. The sand in other rivers contains much more iron and would yield glass of darker colour and inferior quality, besides which the difficulties of access and transport are great. White Dāmodar sandstones occur at Mangal Hāt and Pīrpahār on the east side of the Rājmahāl Hills, and in the Hura and Chaparbhitā coal-fields on the north-west. Experiments with the sand at Manghal Hāt showed that with proper treatment it would yield excellent plate and window glass, and, with less carefully selected materials, a very good quality of medicine and soda water bottles; it is even possible to manufacture from it a perfectly clear high-class glass suitable for the best cut glass and table glass. There are two objections, however, to this sand: (1) it requires crushing in order to be brought into a condition fit for use, and the crushed product would probably require to be washed to remove the fine dust, a process which leads to the loss of a serious percentage of the material; and (2) it contains kaolin, which it is practically impossible to eliminate completely. The latter drawback will probably prove a serious obstacle to the satisfactory manufacture of glass from this sand.*

MANUFACTURES.

The industries of the Santāl Parganas are of a primitive character and of little economic importance. They mostly consist of the exploitation of the natural resources of the district, such as the smelting and manufacture of iron, the production of lac and the propagation of tusser cocoons. With these exceptions the industries of the district are practically village handicrafts.

Iron smelting.

The smelting of iron from native ore has long been carried on by a race called Kols, but the industry is not flourishing owing to the destruction of jungle and the greater facilities for obtaining old scrap-iron at a cheap rate from Deoghar and Rāmpur Hāt. The iron produced is used for the manufacture of mattocks, picks, ploughs, knives, axes, spears, etc., by the village blacksmiths. The following account of the processes employed by the Kols is quoted from Mr. E. R. Watson's *Monograph on Iron and Steel Work in Bengal* (1907):—"I had the opportunity of watching (on the 18th April 1907) the process carried out by the Kols in the jungle at a short distance from Dumkā in the Santāl Parganas. It scarcely differed from any of the processes which have been in vogue for the whole of the last century in Sambalpur, Orissa, Chotā Nāgpur and the Rājmahāl Hills. The furnace was built

* Murray Stuart, B. Sc., F. G. S., *Report on the Suitability of the Sands occurring in the Rājmahāl Hills for Glass Manufacture*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, Part 2, pp. 191-198.

on a small hill under the shade of a banyan tree. It was made of clay and carefully dried before use. In form it was almost cylindrical, height 34 inches, outside diameter 26 inches at the bottom, 22 inches at the top, inside diameter at the hearth about a foot, at the top 5 inches. On one side a semi-circular hole, a foot across, was made in the bottom of the wall of the furnace. Into this hole the tuyère was placed resting on a brick, the tuyère consisting of an already baked fire-clay tube 7 inches in length, about 1 inch across at the wider end, and slightly conical. The tuyère was then surrounded by a mass of moist sandy clay, the hole in the wall being entirely filled up with this material. The bellows were then put in place. Each bellows consisted of a short cylindrical piece of wood, 16 inches in diameter and 5 inches high, hollowed out from the top to the form of a pill-box, with a goat-skin tied to the mouth. Into the side of the cylinder was fitted a bamboo tube 3 feet in length and fitted at its further end with a small iron tube as a nozzle. Two such bellows were put in place with the iron nozzles put into the tuyère of the furnace, and the bodies of the bellows close together, so that the bamboo tubes were as near in line as possible with the tuyère.

"In the ground on each side of the furnace a pliant stake 8 or 9 feet in length had been driven. These were now bent over towards the bellows, and to the stake on the left-hand side was fastened a string which was attached to the goat-skin of the left-hand bellows, so that the stake, trying to spring back into place, pulled up the skin on the bellows. The stake on the right-hand side was similarly attached to the right-hand bellows. The skins each had a perforation. Then a man standing on the bellows, with one foot on each, depressed the right-hand stake, and at the same time closed the perforation in the skin of the right-hand bellows with his foot, and by means of his weight drove the air from the bellows into the furnace. He then leant over to the left and repeating the operations on the left-hand bellows sent a blast from the left-hand pipe into the furnace: and thus alternately he threw his weight from the right to the left in a series of operations resembling a man on the tread-mill, and gave a fairly steady blast into the furnace. The skins were from time to time sprinkled with water. The furnace was filled with charcoal (the charcoal used was of *sāl* wood, having been burnt in a hemispherical pit in the ground) and lighted, and the blast started. At this time two dabs of vermilion were made on the wall of the furnace just above the hearth, apparently invoking the blessing of the gods on the smelting. Then the charcoal and ore were supplied from the top of the furnace in the proportion of one skip of

charcoal to one measure of ore (the measure consisting of a broken water-pot). The blast was steadily maintained, and fresh fuel and ore were added as the previous supply gradually worked down into the furnace.

"The ore employed was a fairly pure hæmatite in small nodules showing a crystalline fracture. These nodules were crushed to a fine powder before use by an old lady belonging to the family of smelters. Carbon monoxide burnt with a blue flame at the mouth of the furnace, and that a white heat was attained within the furnace could be seen by peering down the tuyère. After about half an hour a thin stick was pushed into the moist sandy clay wall surrounding the tuyère, and from the hole thus made a small quantity of slag poured out and solidified. Tappings of slag were made about every half an hour. The slag was almost black and vitreous, and on cooling generally splintered into a thousand pieces. The blast was continued until no more fuel remained; and, in all, probably 1 maund of charcoal and 20 seers of ore were used. This occupied from three to four hours. The blast was continued some time after all the material had disappeared from the top of the furnace; then the tuyère was removed, the sand, etc., brushed away from the hearth, the charcoal raked out from the furnace and quenched; and ultimately the mass of semi-fused iron was dragged out by thongs with long wooden handles, dragged on to the grass, and very gently hammered to express some of the slag. Care was taken not to hammer out too much of the slag, as the iron is sold by weight. The iron obtained weighed about 6 or 7 seers. The smelters said that this *kutcha* iron sold at 20 to 25 seers for the rupee, so that the product of their labours was valued at 4 annas. They said that on being refined this would yield half its weight of *pucka* iron.

"With regard to the *rationale* of the smelting operation, from the appearance of the slag one would pronounce it to be chiefly ferrous silicate $Fe_2 SiO_4$ and conclude that part of the ferric oxide, being reduced to ferrous oxide, acts as a base, and combines with and removes the silica present in the ore as impurity. Thus the process is very wasteful and cannot give a good yield, but at the same time by using only the pure wood charcoal and adding no flux the iron produced is almost sure to be of high quality, as there is no risk of introducing the objectionable elements, sulphur and phosphorus, along with fuel or flux. It would, however, be quite worth while to confirm this view of the composition of the slag by chemical analysis, as it appears that no satisfactory analysis has ever been made of the slag from an indigenous smelting furnace in Bengal."

Lac manufacture.

The lac insect is reared on a fairly large scale, and factories for the manufacture of shellac have been started at Dumkā, in its neighbourhood, and at Pākaur. It is not known when the lac insect (*Coccus Lacca*), or as the natives call it *lakor laka*, was first introduced into this district, but there is a consensus of opinion that the Pahārias introduced it or, at any rate, were the first to cultivate it; and the industry is known to have existed in some parts of the district for the last sixty or seventy years. The insect is supposed to have been introduced from Mānbhūm, but this must be only a surmise. Although lac has been produced for so long, the development of the industry did not begin till about 1870, when it was stimulated by the increasing demand for lac in the markets of London and America.

Lac in this district is generally raised on the *palās* tree (*Butea frondosa*) called in Santali *muru*, but in the north and east, where *palās* trees are few in number, the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*) or plum bush (Santāli *jamun*) is used for the purpose. There are two crops, the first in Chait and Baisākh, *i.e.*, March to May, and the second in Bhādo to Asin, *i e.*, August to October. These crops gc by the name of Kārtik (October-November) and Jait (May-June), respectively, those being the months when the crop comes into the local market. The crop of Chait-Baisākh yields the most lac, but the crop of Bhādo-Asin contains a greater proportion of colouring matter. The manner of setting the insect for the next crop is simply to save a few well-covered twigs or a branch of the tree when cutting the crop, so that the new shoots thrown out after the tree has been pruned down in the removal of the crop may be covered by the insect when it swarms, which for the Jait crop is in Kārtik and for the Kārtik crop is in Jait. To set the insect in a new grove of trees, a branch of healthy lac containing the larvæ is tied on each tree. After the larvæ have swarmed the branches are cut and the lac sold: this lac goes by the name of *plunki*.

The mode of preparing the crop for the market is primitive in the extreme and must result in considerable loss of material, especially of the colouring matter. When the incrustation has formed on thick wood, it is scraped off with the reaping hook or some other rough instrument; where it has formed on thin wood, the parts wholly covered are left intact; where it is only partially covered, the uncovered portions of wood are roughly cut off so that a large amount of wood or stick is sold with the lac. The growers generally sell the lac to the village *mahājans* or shopkeepers, sometimes taking advances on the crop, and

sometimes exchanging the produce for salt, tobacco, etc., and sometimes being paid in cash.*

Cocoon-rearing. The Pahārias, Santāls and Khatauris rear tusser worms on *āsan* trees, four kinds of cocoons (*koa*) being common, viz., (1) *sarihan*, (2) *langa*, (3) *muga* and (4) *phuka*, of which *muga* is the best. The process of rearing is as follows. The rearers enclose the eggs laid by the tusser moth in a covering of *āsan* leaves called *thonga*, which they keep for two days in their houses. When the eggs hatch out into caterpillars the *thongas* are fastened to the twigs of *āsan* trees, and the caterpillars then spread about the tree forming cocoons. This takes place in the month of Asin, *i.e.*, towards the end of September and beginning of October. Three months later, *i.e.*, in the month of Aghan, when the cocoons are ready, they are taken down from the *āsan* trees and dried on the ground for two days. The Patwās or weavers now take the cocoons and boil them in hot water, steeping them for about 8 hours. After this they wash the cocoons in clean water and place them on cow-dung ashes to dry them. They then take each cocoon in the left hand, and with the right hand rub it gently in order to remove the rough coating over the shell and get out the *khani* or tusser silk. After this is done they begin to spin.

Tusser weaving. Tusser weaving is carried on by a class of weavers called Patwās, who are said to have migrated from the Gayā district and live in the village of Mal Bhagaiyā, in the Goddā Subdivision, just outside the border of the Dāmin-i-koh. The fabrics woven by them consist of *dhotis*, *sāris* and *gamchās*, and also long pieces called *thān*. Various dyes are used, by which the clothes are coloured white, red, purple and yellow, according to the demand.† The cloths are sold in the local markets and occasionally disposed of in the hills.

Cotton weaving. Coarse cotton cloths are woven by village weavers on a fairly large scale, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the district generally use locally-made cloth: but the weavers have not been enterprising enough to use fly-shuttle looms.

Sabai grass. The cultivation of *sabai* grass is an industry of some importance in this district. The area under it in the Rājmahāl subdivision is estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 acres, and over 500,000 maunds are exported annually from Sāhibganj, this being the

* C. F. Monson, *Note on the Lac Industry in the Santāl Parganas*, Indian Forester, Vol. VII, 1882, pp. 274-79; G. Watt, *Lac and the Lac Industries* Agricultural Ledger, 1901, No. 9.

† N. G. Mukherji, *Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal* (1903). pp. 110—115.

largest quantity produced in any district in Bengal. The following account of the industry is derived mainly from Mr. D. N. Mukherji's *Monograph on Paper and Papier-Maché in Bengal.*

The hillsides are thoroughly cleared in the dry season by felling and burning, and the seed is scattered broadcast in the rains without any preparatory ploughing or spading. As the jungle comes up again, two weedings are given. In the first year the grass grows to a height of 12 or 18 inches, but this first year's growth is of no value and is not cut. In the second year the fields again receive two weedings, and the grass grows three feet high. It is now used to some extent both for paper and rope-making; but it is still weak, and it is not till in the third year that it attains its maturity, becoming strong and growing six to seven feet high. From now onwards the fields receive only one principal weeding every year in July and August, for nothing ought to remain in the fields but *sabai*, whether trees, scrub jungle or other kinds of grass. Beyond this annual weeding the fields receive no attention.

The grass is cut only once a year at any time from the end of October to the end of January. Every year, after it has been cut, the fields are burnt in the dry season; after this, when the rainy season sets in, the grass shoots up to a height of six or seven feet in about a couple of months. The outturn varies somewhat, but about 25 maunds may be taken as the average per *bigha* or 75 maunds per acre. A *sabai* plantation has a long life, many fields being quite fifty years old; in fact, once established the grass takes such a hold of the land as to defy eradication. The outturn, however, continues to be good for 15 or 16 years only and then gradually falls off. When the yield becomes so small as to be no longer worth troubling about the field is abandoned; and it is only when, in the course of time, want of weeding allows jungle to re-establish itself that the *sabai* dies off and a fresh plantation becomes possible.

The fields on which *sabai* is grown are situated on the slopes of the hills occupied by the Pahārias, who pay no revenue to Government but receive rent for such fields from local men called *sabai mahājans*, who cultivate the lands under them. The latter have to pay Rs. 10 every year to Government before entering the hills and are debarred from acquiring any rights in the lands they cultivate under the Pahārias. The rent is settled by annual agreement. The *mahājan* has the fields weeded and watched, and when the crop is ready has it cut and carried to Sāhibganj. There the grass is made over to balers, who bale and deliver it to the various paper mills under contract. The baling is done with

the help of hydraulic presses, each bale being 3½ maunds in weight. The balers or contractors, who have nothing to do with the cultivation of the grass, pay to Government a royalty of one anna per maund of grass exported out of the district. They deliver the grass at the paper mills for an average price of Re. 1-3 to Re. 1-5 per maund; and allowing for the price they pay to the *mahājans*, the cost of clearing and baling, the royalty and railway freight, they make a handsome profit.

With the object of improving the condition of the Pahārias and safeguarding their interests, Government has this year (1909) assumed entire control of the *sabai* cultivation to the exclusion of the local *sabai mahājans*, who had hitherto reaped enormous profits.

Other industries. Muchis and Chamārs carry on a fairly extensive industry in tanning leather and making shoes, while Doms, Hāris and Santāls cure skins for exportation. Mahilīs make baskets, bamboo mats and *chiks* or screens, and Kumhārs make tiles, pots and pans. *Baids* or measuring cups of a pretty though stereotyped pattern are made on a limited scale by Thatheris and Jadupatiās. The manufacture of *ghī*, oil (*mahuā*, *sarguja* and mustard), and *gur* or coarse sugar is carried on as a domestic industry. Village carpenters are numerous and wood-carving is carried on to a small extent, the carved wooden combs exhibited and sold in fairs showing some skill. Silver and bell-metal ornaments are also made, and lacquered bangles are manufactured at Nunihāt and a few other places. Indigo was till recently manufactured in a few European and native factories, but the industry is now almost extinct, the only factory still working being that of Mr. W. M. Grant at Sāhibganj. In 1900 ten factories had an outturn of 329 maunds valued at Rs. 53,000. Brick-making by European methods has been carried on at Mahārājpur for the last few years.

TRADE. The chief imports are paddy, gunny-bags, raw cotton, sugar, refined and unrefined molasses, European and Bombay piece-goods, salt, kerosine oil, coal and coke. The chief exports are food-grains, linseed and mustard seed, *sabai* grass, road-metal, hides, raw fibres, tobacco and indigo. The road-metal is exported chiefly to Calcutta, Hooghly and Burdwān. The trade in hides is chiefly carried on in the headquarters and Pākaur subdivisions, where regular hide godowns are kept by Muhammadan merchants.

Trade centres and fairs. The principal entrepôt of trade, both by river and rail, is Sāhibganj, and the chief traders are mostly Mārwāris, who have depôts at all the important *hāts* on the main roads. A

considerable amount of trade is carried on at these *hāts* and at the fairs held from time to time in different parts of the district. The principal fairs are shown below :—

SUBDIVISION.	NAME OF FAIR.	Time at which held.	Duration (days).	Attendance, 1907-1908.
DUMKĀ	Rāmeswar *Melā* ...	Latter part of Chait ...	3	10,000
	Tantloi	Last day of Pus ...	15	5,000
	Nunbil	Ditto	7	5,000
	Bāskināth	Sivarātri in Phālgun ...	2	5,000
	Dumkā or Hijlā ...	February	7	5,000
DEOGHAR	Bhādo Pūrnimā ...	September	3	6,000
	Sripanchami	February	3	5,000
	Sivarātri	March	5	8,000
GODDĀ	Bastara	Chait Sankrānti in April	12	9,000 to 10,000
JĀMTĀRĀ	Dhamsai	February	7	9,000 to 10,000
	Jāmtārā	Rāsjātrā (November) ...	10	6,000 to 7,000
	Karamdaha	Last day of Pus	10	6,000 to 7,000
PĀKAUR	Pākaur	Rathjātra (June)	1	2,000 to 3,000
	Ditto	Kālī Pujā (October) ...	1	3,000 to 4,000
	Coronation *Melā* ... (Pākaur Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition).	February	5	10,000
RĀJMAHĀL	Rādhānagar	Chait Navami	...	1,000
	Gosain	......	...	3,000
	Bindipārā	......	...	3,000
	Chhatpārā...	......	...	500
	Rissor	......	...	3,000
	Gajeswarī	......	...	1,000
	Motijharna	......	...	4,000

CHAPTER XI.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

RAILWAYS.

THE district is traversed on the north-east by the Loop Line and on the south-west by the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, the former being opened to traffic in 1859 and the latter in 1871. A short branch (7¼ miles long) connects Rājmahāl with Tinpahār on the Loop Line; another branch, also managed by the East Indian Railway, runs from Madhupur on the Chord Line to Giridih, a distance of 23½ miles; and there is a small branch line from Baidyanāth Junction to Deoghar, which is worked by a private company. From Sāhibganj a short line runs to Sakrigali Ghāt, between which and Manihāri Ghāt, on the other bank of the Ganges, a ferry steamer ordinarily plies, establishing connection with the Eastern Bengal State Railway. It has recently been found necessary to open a branch line in connection with the latter service from Mirzā Chaukī to the Ganges as the Sakrigali-Manihāri route is not now navigable at all seasons of the year. The marginal table shows the stations on the Chord and Loop Lines in this district and their distance from Howrah.

Loop Line.	*Miles.*
Rājgāon ...	162
Pākaur ...	169
Kotālpokhar ...	176
Barharwā ...	185
Tinpahār ...	195
Taljhari ...	201
Mahārājpur ...	210
Sakrigāli ...	214
Sāhibganj ..	219
Mirzā Chaukī ..	228

Chord Line.	*Miles.*
Mihijām ...	148
Jāmtārā ...	157
Karmātārh ...	168
Madhupur ...	188
Baidyanāth ...	201

The Loop Line enters the district at Rājgāon and leaves it at Mirzā Chaukī, a distance of 65 miles. Throughout its length it passes along the skirts of the hills, the line being laid in a narrow strip of country hemmed in on one side by the Rājmahāl Hills and on the other by the Ganges. The most noticeable engineering work on this portion of the line is the Sītā Pahār cutting, a little beyond Barharwā, which was a work of great difficulty, a bed of solid basalt having to be cut away and blasted. The Chord Line enters the district at Mihijam, crosses the table-

land of the Jāmtārā and Deoghar subdivisions at an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, and running parallel to the western boundary of the Santāl Parganas, at an interval of 10 to 15 miles, leaves it a few miles north-west of Baidyanāth Junction. There is a project for the construction of a line from Bhāgalpur *viâ* Bausi and Hasdihā to Deoghar, and an extension to Bausi has been sanctioned.

Until 1901 the roads in the Santāl Parganas were maintained from an annual grant made by Government and administered by the Deputy Commissioner. In that year the Cess Act was introduced in parts of the district, and a District Road Committee was formed. There are now (1909) 43 scheduled roads under the Committee, with a total mileage of 840 miles, and four village roads with a length of 33 miles: a considerable sum is also devoted to the upkeep of communications in the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate, which extends over an area of 1,356 square miles. There are only 15½ miles of metalled roads, but in the greater portion of the district the soil is hard and metalling is not required, for the roads are passable even in the rains and gravelling alone is required on the more important roads. Cart traffic, however, is almost suspended during the rains in the alluvial portion of the Goddā and Rājmahāl subdivisions and in the black soil of which part of the Pākaur subdivision consists. ROADS.

The principal roads pass through Dumkā and connect it with the railway, the most important being the Bhāgalpur-Surī road, the Dumkā-Rāmpur Hāt road, and the Dumkā-Deoghar road. The Bhāgalpur-Surī road, which is 103 miles long, traverses the Santāl Parganas from north to south, its length within the district being 53 miles (mile 42 to mile 95). It is a second class road with a width of 24 feet, of which eight feet in the middle are metalled with gravel. Seven unbridged hill streams cross the road, all of them fordable even in the rains except two, viz., the Bhurbhuri and Mor, on which ferry boats ply during that season. The remaining rivers and streams are bridged, there being two iron girder bridges, three bridges with a timber roadway on masonry abutments and piers, and 147 small arched bridges and culverts. There are four inspection bungalows, at Hasdihā, Nunihāt, Masanjor and Rānīgrām. The Dumkā-Rāmpur Hāt road runs east from Dumkā to the Loop Line, its length being 39 miles, of which the last six miles lie in the Bīrbhūm district. It is a second class road and has a width of 24 feet for 32½ miles and of 20 feet for 5½ miles; throughout its length 8 feet in the middle are metalled with gravel. There are three inspection bungalows at Sikāripārā Haripur and Rāmpur Hāt.

The Dumkā-Deoghar road runs west to the Chord Line and has a length of 40½ miles, but 4½ miles also form part of the Bhāgalpur-Surī road, so that the actual length of the road is 36 miles. There is one unbridged river on the sixth mile, viz., the Mor, and there is one inspection bungalow at Jarmundi on the 17th mile.

WATER COMMUNICATIONS.

The only navigable waterway is the Ganges, the rivers which traverse the district being hill streams that rise in flood during the rains and have little or no water for the rest of the year. There is a through steamer service on the Ganges, and also a local service between places on its banks, viz., from Rājmahāl to Manihāri, from Rājmahāl to Mānikchak, and, in the rains, from Rājmahāl *viâ* the river Kālindī to English Bazar, a distance of 80 miles. As stated above, the railway maintains a ferry steamer between Sakrigali Ghāt and Manihāri Ghāt, and it also has a bi-weekly service between Rājmahāl and Dhuliān.

CONVEYANCES.

The characteristic cart of the district is the *sagar*, which is suitable for work on the roughest roads. It consists merely of two solid wheels with bamboos fastened to the axle. They taper to a point at the other extremity, thus forming a triangle on which the goods are placed, and rest upon a cross bar, which passes over the necks of the buffaloes or bullocks which draw it. Such carts are capable of struggling over steep hills covered with boulders.

POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS.

There are 47 post offices in the district and 347½ miles of postal communication. The number of postal articles delivered in 1907-08 was 1,844,206, including letters, post-cards, packets, newspapers and parcels. The value of money orders issued in the same year was Rs. 12,23,815 and of those paid Rs. 7,70,735; the total number of Savings Bank deposits was 3,576 and the amount deposited was Rs. 2,56,482. There are ten postal telegraph offices situated at Dumkā, Baidyanāth-Deoghar, Benāgarhia, Goddā, Jāmtārā, Madhupur, Pākaur, Rājmahāl and Sakrigali. The number of messages issued from these offices in 1907-08 was 20,717.

CHAPTER XII.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

AGRARIAN MEASURES.

THE first settlement of the district was carried out under the Santāl Parganas Settlement Regulation, III of 1872, which was passed for "the peace and good government" of the Santāl Parganas. The Regulation provided that only certain specified laws, or such other laws as might from time to time be specially notified, should apply to the district, and that the Government might order a settlement for the purpose of ascertaining and recording all rights appertaining to land, whether belonging to the zamīndārs and other proprietors, or to the tenants and headmen. It barred the action of the Civil Courts during the settlement except on special references and in suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 regarding the rights of zamīndārs and other proprietors as between themselves; it provided for the reinstatement of headmen and ryots unjustly dispossessed since the 31st December 1858 and for readjusting, at "fair and equitable rates," the rents payable by headmen and ryots; it confirmed to the ryots a right of occupancy after 12 years' possession; and it fixed the rents for at least 7 years until a fresh settlement or agreement was made. The work of effecting a settlement under this Regulation was entrusted to Mr. Browne Wood, then Deputy Commisioner.

An account has already been given in Chapter IX of the rules and principles observed during the operations for the settlement of rent, and it will be sufficient to notice the main features of the work in other directions. In the zamīndāri estates:—(1) Mere farmers of villages were held to have acquired no right of occupancy in lands cultivated by them during their leases and no title to settlement, whatever might have been the length of their occupation. In Santāl villages they had to make way for Santāl headmen; but those whose leases had still a term to run were allowed to receive from the headmen for that term the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer on the understanding that they paid to the zamīndār the amount due under the terms of their agreement with him. (2) When no rival claimants appeared, the lease was granted to the headman or farmer in possession

unless he was disqualified on account of previous mismanagement; but when there were claimants a careful enquiry was held to determine who had the best right. (3) The Settlement Officer was authorized to use his own discretion in the selection of the headman in Santāl villages, provided that due regard was paid to any local customs on the subject. (4) Before a lease was granted its terms were fully explained to all parties. The zamīndār and the ryots were specially called upon to submit their objections, if any, and the objections were investigated and settled. (5) Besides classifying and assessing lands the Settlement Officer made enquiries as to the local customs and rights in respect of land and the internal arrangement of the villages, and these were recorded and notified for the information of the zamīndār and villagers. The record-of-rights gave fixity to the rights and customs of each village, no amendment of it being permitted except under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor himself on proof of a material error. A resettlement of the Dāmin-i-koh was also carried out.

Subseqently doubts began to be entertained whether the Regulation of 1872 authorized settlements to be made from time to time, and it was feared that complications would arise on the expiry of the leases granted by the Settlement Officer. Tenants might be induced or compelled to accept private engagements for higher rates; the rents might gradually become equalized at a higher figure; and this process of enhancement might bring about the unsatisfactory state of feeling which existed before 1872. It was, therefore, considered necessary that Government should keep the process of rent enhancement under its own control. It was also felt that it was necessary to furnish the zamīndārs with the means of obtaining, at their own expense, a resettlement of rent. Accordingly the Santāl Parganas Rent Regulation, II of 1886, was enacted with four objects:—(1) to make it clear that Government could at any time order a fresh settlement and revision of the record-of-rights; (2) to allow the zamīndārs reasonable facilities for obtaining, at their own expense, enhancements of rents after the expiry of the period of 7 years, which had been fixed as the term of the settlement by Regulation III of 1872; (3) to permit of rents being determined, on the application of zamīndārs, in tracts which had not been settled under that Regulation; and (4) to prescribe that rents settled in future under Regulation III of 1872 or the new Regulation should hold good for 15 years or until they should be altered again under either Regulation. Provisions to the above effect were inserted in the Regulation; and another important clause was

that prohibiting the eviction of ryots, whether possessing a right of occupancy or not, without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

Regulation II of 1886 enabled settlements of rents to be made on the application of the landlords or ryots, and provided for the recovery by Government of the expenses incurred by it in connection with such proceedings. It did not, however, admit of the preparation of a record-of-rights at the same time as the settlement of rents, and its provisions could be conveniently applied only when small areas were concerned. On the other hand Regulation III of 1872 provided for the preparation of a record-of-rights, as well as for a determination of rents, and had been found to be more suitable when considerable areas came under settlement. The latter Regulation, however, contained no provisions whereby costs could be recovered from the parties benefited by the proceedings initiated under it. Provisions to remedy these defects were embodied in Regulation II of 1904; and three years later Regulation II of 1886 was further amended by Regulation III of 1907, which provides for the enhancement of rent on account of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, zamīndārs, and for the acquisition of lands required for the construction of works of improvement, building, etc.

The last Regulation passed for the Santāl Parganas is Regulation III of 1908, the provisions of which embody several important principles. Chief among these is the principle emphasized by the settlement, and accepted by the ordinary courts of the Santāl Parganas in the disposal of agrarian cases, that ryoti land and the office of headman cannot be made the subject of transfer. The rulings of the local Civil Courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, which like the Settlement Courts are subject to the control of the Commissioner and of Government, have been from time to time referred to Government and been embodied in Government orders, which have upheld the policy of non-alienation and have given the Deputy Commissioner and other local officers, as guardians of the settlement, full power to intervene and set aside whatever is subversive of settlement rights and to enforce the obligations imposed by the record-of-rights. There was, however, always a danger that suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 might be filed by illicit transferees in the courts established under Act XII of 1887, which are subject to the control of the High Court of Calcutta, and that the rulings of the local courts, the orders of Government and the provisions of the settlement records might not be regarded as binding by those courts. To obviate this danger, Regulation III

of 1908 definitely declares the non-transferability of ryoti lands, and affirms the power of the Deputy Commissioner to interfere with illegal alienations and, generally, to enforce the provisions of the settlement records. Other provisions intended to remedy defects in the machinery of Regulation III of 1872 provide for the regulation of the transfer of suits to and from Civil and Settlement Courts, for the speedier disposal of objections to the published records, and for other miscellaneous matters. This regulation also provides for the infliction of penalties on proprietors, headmen or ryots who commit certain specific breaches of the record-of rights.

SETTLEMENTS.

The whole of the district was settled for the first time under the provisions of Regulation III of 1872 by Mr. Browne Wood between 1873 and 1879. In 1888 resettlement operations were undertaken at the instance of proprietors entitled under Regulation II of 1886 to have the rents of their ryots revised after an interval of seven years. This settlement, which extended over an area of 1,579 square miles and was brought to a conclusion in 1894, was supervised by Mr. Craven and is therefore known as Craven's settlement. The next resettlement was that carried out by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., who between 1898 and 1905 effected a settlement of 3,499 square miles, viz., 1,098 square miles in the Dāmin-i-koh and 2,401 square miles in zamīndāri estates, thus practically completing the second settlement of the district. Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S., succeeding Mr. McPherson in 1905, completed Mr. McPherson's settlement during the next 18 months, and in November 1906 started the third settlement of the district, revising the settlement of 1,579 square miles made by Mr. Craven. These operations are now in progress.

Pahāria settlement.

In 1823 the Government defined its relations to the Pahārias as follows :—" Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains, or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil." The effect of this declaration of policy was that Government realized no revenue from the Pahārias in the hills ; and with a few exceptions noted below they have never been assessed to rent. When the first settlement of the district was carried out, the Pahāria villages in the hills were excluded from its scope ; but in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal Mr. Browne Wood found the plough cultivation of the Māl Pahārias so undistinguishable from that of the Santāls, that he included it in his assessment, while he left the hillside *jhūms* unassessed and unrestricted. In 1881 Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., who was then Deputy

Commissioner, after an exhaustive enquiry into the history of the Māl Pahārias, showed that they, like their fellow tribesmen outside the Dāmin-i-koh, had been subject to a zamīndāri régime until Mr. Ward's demarcation of 1832. The local officers were at the same time unanimous in the opinion that the *jhūm* cultivation in Marpal and Daurpal was insignificant and the plough cultivation of the Māl Pahārias ample for their wants. It was accordingly decided to stop *jhūm* cultivation in those *tappas*. This policy was gradually given effect to, with the result that the Māl Pahārias to the south of the Bānsloi river are now restricted to plough cultivation. The lands held by Pahārias in parts of Ambar, Pātsunda and Barkop were also settled in the course of the settlement of the Dāmin-i-koh in 1867, the Settlement Officer offering the Pahārias leases of their lands in exchange for a very low assessment; and the villages held under such leases were duly settled in 1879 in the same way as the lands held by Santāls. Besides this some Pahārias, who had taken to plough cultivation, having asked for a settlement of the land which they had reclaimed as a protection against the encroachment of Santāls, it was settled with them at low rates. In these ways, altogether 305 Pahāria villages came under settlement in 1879.

On the conclusion of this settlement Mr. Browne Wood recommended that general settlement operations should be commenced at an early date in the Pahāria country for their own protection and on the ground of expediency; and in 1882 Mr. W. B. Oldham, as Deputy Commissioner, drew up an elaborate scheme for a survey and settlement, and for the commutation of the pensions paid to stipendiary chiefs within and without the Dāmin-i-koh. Government, holding that it was still bound by the promise made in 1823, required that their assent should be gained before a settlement was made. Accordingly the proposal was laid before the Pahāria chiefs at an assembly held at Dumkā, at which they were informed that Government had no wish to force a settlement upon them in violation of its promise. The Pahārias, however, were opposed to a settlement, and Government, finding that the cost of a demarcation survey would be more than a lakh of rupees, negatived the proposal.

Subsequently, in 1895, the headmen of 87 Pahāria villages (33 held by Māl Pahārias and 54 by the Maler) in the Pākaur Dāmin applied for a settlement of their villages, realizing that they were worse off than their neighbours in 92 other Pahāria villages in the same tract which had been settled by Mr. Browne Wood in 1879. Their request was granted and the settlement carried out in 1895-96, the area dealt with being 43 square miles, of which

8,753 acres were under cultivation. The Pahārias having stipulated that lands should be definitely set aside on which they could practise *jhūm* or *kurāo* cultivation without restriction, 6,589 acres of waste and jungle land were left for the extension of such cultivation, but two conditions were imposed :—(1) that the holder should endeavour to terrace the land during the currency of the settlement, and (2) that he should take precautions when firing his *jhūm* to save the Government forest from injury. The north and east slopes of the hills covering an area of 10,597 acres, and clumps of forest outside that area covering 1,191 acres, or 11,788 acres in all, were demarcated as protected forest. Rice lands were assessed at 4 annas per *bighā*, first class *bāri* at 3 annas, second class *bāri* at 1 anna, and *kurāo* land (cultivated and uncultivated) at 2 pice per *bighā*, the total land revenue assessed amounting to Rs. 1,502, which just covered the stipends payable in the tract.

When a resettlement of the Dāmin-i-koh was proposed, in 1899, the Local Government was in favour of a survey and demarcation of the boundaries of the Pahāria villages, in order to place the Pahārias within well-defined limits, and to secure the proper administration of the protected forests; but it held that in view of the declarations which had at various periods been made by Government, the lands held by Pahārias could not be assessed to rent without their consent. Such a demarcation would, it was thought, be of use in dealing with any applications for settlement of their lands made by the Pahārias of individual villages. Subsequently, however, in 1901, the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that the work in previously unsettled blocks should be confined to the outer demarcation of those areas, and further stated that it was not the intention of Government to exclude from the enjoyment of the Pahārias and to take over, for purposes of forest conservancy, any portion of the unsettled area; nor did Government desire to interfere in any way with the management by the hill people of the waste lands and forests lying outside the boundaries of the settled area, provided the exercise of their rights was confined to their own requirements. Regarding this decision Mr. McPherson writes :—"It has always been a matter of extreme regret to me that Government decided to refrain from *mauzāwār* boundary survey. The local officers have to this day no maps which show the relative position of hundreds of hill villages for which stipends are drawn by their *mānjhis*. The disadvantage is great from many points of view. The absence of maps renders great the difficulties of police, forest and excise administration. The puzzling results of the enumeration of

Pahārias in the last census are no doubt due largely to the want of maps.* The moral effect on the Pahārias could not fail to be mischievous. The more foolish said in the ignorance of their hearts: 'This is our unconquered country, our *bilāt*. The Sāhibs are afraid of us. They pay us tribute.'"

In 1901-02 and 1902-03, however, 162 Pahāria villages came under settlement on the villagers' own application. All Pahāria ryots in these villages had their rents settled at half-rates, but in many there were Santāl ryots who had been introduced by the Pahāria headmen and were allowed to retain their holdings as they had been in possession, with consent, for a long time. In their case rents were settled according to the ordinary rules. The Pahāria headmen who applied for settlement did so under no misapprehension and showed no signs later of having regretted the step taken by them. On the contrary, they were pleased with the leniency of the assessment, with the exemption from rent of *kurāo* lands, with the subsequent allotment of areas for the practice of *kurāo*, and they expressed the greatest satisfaction when their leases and a copy of the village *jamābandi* were made over to them. They regarded these as a sort of charter of their rights which would protect them from encroachment and dispossession.

The present position of the Pahārias is as follows. They have been declared the tenants of Government with occupancy rights and with no power to dispose of their lands to others or settle tenants on them. Except in the areas which have been brought under settlement they pay no rent, and Government has abandoned its claim to exact it under the promise it made in 1823. Government has, however, always asserted its proprietary rights in the forests alike of the hills and plains of the Dāmin-i-koh, and in 1876 it initiated measures of forest conservancy which have since been extended under the rules and laws in force. Though they pay no rent, the Pahāria chiefs have been in receipt of stipends from Government since the close of the 18th century.

Whether the original object of these stipends was to ensure the performance of certain police duties, or whether they were merely inducements to make the hill chiefs abstain from predatory habits, there is no doubt that the system was gradually extended by Cleveland and by his successors beyond the limits at first contemplated, *sardārs*, *naibs* and *mānjhis*, whose jurisdiction lay far outside the Dāmān-i-koh, and who did not belong to the Maler race, being appointed stipendiaries. Under this system

* The results of Mr. McPherson's analysis of the census statistics will be found in Chapter III.

the Pahāria *sardārs*, *naibs* and *mānjhis* are pensioners of Government receiving monthly stipends of Rs. 2 to Rs. 10, which aggregate about Rs. 13,000 per annum, in return for which they attend the Magistrate's Court periodically and report crimes, birth and deaths.

AND ENURES.

There are, according to the returns for 1907-08, 465 estates on the revenue-roll of the district, of which 448 are permanently-settled, three are temporarily-settled and 14 are held direct by Government. Of the Government estates by far the most important is the Damin-i-koh, which extends over 1,356 square miles. In this estate the Pahārias, as stated above, hold their lands rent-free, but in all other villages rents are collected from the ryots by village headmen, who have certain special privileges. In the zamīndāri estates the majority of the villages are *pradhāni*, *i.e.*, the ryots are represented by a village headman in all dealings with the proprietor. *Khās* zamīndāri villages, *i.e.*, villages in which the zamindār deals with the ryots direct and individually are mostly found in the area adjoining the districts of Bīrbhūm, Mālda and Murshidābād, *i.e.*, in *pargana* Muhammadābād in the Dumkā subdivision, and in *parganas* Sultānābād and Ambar in the Pākaur subdivision, which are mostly inhabited by Bengalis, and in the Rājmahāl subdivision outside the Dāmin-i-koh. Such villages are held *khās* either because they have for many generations been so held or temporarily because a suitable headman is not available.

Both in *pradhāni* and *khās* villages there is a *jamābandi* roll, which includes all the agricultural lands in which the village community has a reversionary interest, *i.e.*, settlement of lands in the village cannot be made with persons who do not belong to the village community, unless the existing ryots waive their claim to it or refuse to exercise their right to settlement. In a few villages, however, there are agricultural lands which formerly belonged to ryots, but have come into the hands of proprietors, which are known as *bakāsht mālik*. These lands are included in the village *jamābandi* and must either be cultivated by the proprietor himself or be settled with village ryots. In the latter case the lands lose their *bakāsht mālik* status and become part of the ryot's holding. In addition to ordinary ryoti lands the headmen's private and official holdings are included in the *jamābandi*, and also lands held by village officials whose rent is paid by the community. The latter lands are found chiefly in the Santāl community villages, which usually have attached to them a number of religious and social functionaries. Excluded from the village *jamābandi* are *khās kāmat* lands, *i. e.*, privileged lands in the direct

possession of proprietors, and rent-free service lands, such as *chaukīdāri jāgir*; lands covered by *brahmottar*, *sibottar* and other religious grants; unassessed homestead lands occupied by poor residents, *e.g.*, agricultural labourers who are not village ryots; and shops and houses occupied by non-agriculturists, which are known as *basauri*.

Prominent among the tenures more or less peculiar to this district are the *ghātwāli* tenures of *tappa* Sarath Deoghar, which cover almost the whole Deoghar subdivision, and are also found in Jāmtārā and Dumkā. The *ghātwālis* appear to have been originally tenures granted for the protection of the *ghāts* or passes through the hills, and the *ghātwāls* were small hill chiefs, who raised small levies for their defence and were responsible for peace and order in the tracts held by them. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was annexed about 1700 by the Muhammadan Rājās of Nagar in Bīrbhūm, but the latter were unable to subdue the hill chiefs altogether and came to an arrangement by which half the *ghātwāli* lands were held by the latter as *jāgīr* and one-half was liable to assessment. Towards the end of the 18th century the power of the Rājās of Nagar declined still further, and, after the establishment of British rule, the Rājā was unable to exercise any control over the *ghātwāls*. Accordingly, in 1790, the Governor-General in Council allowed him an abatement of his revenue equal to the total amount which might be engaged for by the *ghātwāls*, while the Collector of Bīrbhūm was directed to make engagements with them. At the same time it was ordered that the lands held by the *ghātwāls* should be excluded from the management of the Rājā, and should be managed by the Collector, though the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) declared that the *ghātwāls* were not entitled to separation or to enter into engagements as proprietors.

Ghātwāli tenures.

The *ghātwāli mahāls* having passed under the Collector's management, the latter concluded settlements with the *ghātwāls*, but the Rājā was credited with all net realizations in excess of the revenue. The *ghātwāls*, however, fell repeatedly into arrears, and eventually in 1812 the Governor-General ordered a fresh settlement, deputing a special officer, Mr. David Scott, for the purpose. By Regulation XXIX of 1814 this settlement was declared perpetual, and the *ghātwālis* were recognized as permanent tenures at a fixed rent. The tenures were declared part of the zamīndāri of Bīrbhūm and the rents were to be paid to the Collector, who, after deducting the Government revenue on that part of the estate, was to pay the balance to the zamīndār. The new *jamā* was fixed at Rs. 20,889, and the *sadar jamā*

at Rs. 15,172, the difference (Rs. 5,717) being payable by Government to the Bīrbhūm Rājā. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was transferred to the Santāl Parganas in 1855, and after the readjustment of district boundaries in that year the *ghātwāli* revenue payable at Dumkā was Rs. 23,494, and the amount payable by Government to the zamīndār Rs. 7,310.

The Nagar Rājās have now lost their estates and the surplus profits of Sarath Deoghar are divided among a number of shareholders who have succeeded to their interests. There are altogether 53 *ghātwāli* tenures in Sarath Deoghar, the gross rental of which is Rs. 2,50,000, while the revenue they pay to Government is Rs. 16,183-8-6.

The incidents of the *ghātwāli* tenures are as follows. The *ghātwāl* has an inalienable life interest in his tenure; but no lease granted by a *ghātwāl* could bind his successor until the enactment of Act V of 1859, by which leases can, with the sanction of the Commissioner of the Division, be granted for building and mining purposes. A *ghātwāli* is hereditary, but, to complete his title, the heir has to appear before the Deputy Commissioner and execute a bond providing for the due performance of his police duties and the maintenance of the village watch. As a *ghātwāli* is inalienable it cannot be sold by the Civil Courts, but the surplus proceeds, after providing for the due performance of police duties, can be attached by a decree-holder. If a *ghātwāl* refuses to reside on his estate or defaults in the performance of other duties, the *ghātwāli* may be attached and managed on behalf of the *ghātwāl* by order of the Commissioner. The police duties of the *ghātwāls* have gradually become less, for, as the country developed, Government found it necessary to make police arrangements of a more elaborate character than could be undertaken by the *ghātwāls*. At present the principal police duty required of them is to provide for the pay and equipment of the village watchmen within the limits of their tenures. The power of appointing and dismissing *ghātwāls* is vested in the Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division. Ordinarily the next heir of a deceased *ghātwāl* is appointed to succeed him, provided that he is fit to perform the duties attendant upon the office.

Out of 651 square miles covered by the largest *ghātwālis*, as shown in the table below, all but 25 square miles are in the possession of the families with whom Mr. Scott made his settlement. "They owe their preservation to the custom of primogeniture that applies to them, to the service nature of the tenure which renders it inalienable, and to the provisions of Regulation XXIX of 1814 and Act V of 1859. There

can be no doubt that but for these safeguards the major portion of the area would long ago have passed into the hands of usurers and lawyers. As the law stands, *ghātwāls* cannot contract debts that are binding on their successors, nor can their estates be sold up in execution of money decrees. A *ghātwāl's* succession, moreover, requires the confirmation of Government. The consequence is that their powers of borrowing are extremely limited and that they are compelled to live more or less on current income."*

The following table shows the names, settled rent, revenue demand and area of the largest *ghātwālis* :—

	Rent.	Revenue.	Area in square miles.
	Rs.	Rs.	
Kukrahā	5,928	943	23
Phulchua	4,204	214	17½
Sāldahā	7,750	492	36
Bāmangāon	22,584	3,479	66½
Sarawān	12,406	1,494	34½
Jhikti	8,219	1,983	27
Deoli	10,886	1,484	42½
Lakharia	14,362	1,307	47½
Nuniad	5,500	214	37½
Burhai ...	9,017	411	76½
Bargunia	...	...	11½
Pathrol	33,800	2,240	128
Kunjora	...	...	14
Ghāti (with 3 *shikmī tāluks*)	20,031	534	93

Another peculiar tenure found in the Deoghar subdivision is the *mulraiyati* tenure, which is an artificial creation of recent date. In 1876-77, in the course of the settlement of that subdivision by Mr. Browne Wood, 80 men, who had been recognized as village headmen, presented a petition to Government, claiming that they were ryots having a right to transfer their holdings, and that the cultivators under them should be recorded as under-ryots or *korfādārs* with no right of occupancy. It was finally decided that the memorialists and others in a like position should be styled *mulraiyats ;* but the rights of other cultivators were protected by the record-of-rights drawn up by the Settlement Officer. The *mulraiyat* is allowed to sell his rights, including his right in the land actually cultivated by him, but in other respects his position is that of an ordinary headman. He collects the village *Mul-raiyati* tenures.

* H. McPherson, *Santāl Parganas Settlement Report, 1909.*

rents, he is entitled to half the rent of the land newly brought under cultivation, and he is liable to dismissal for misconduct. It has been held that though a *mulraiyat* may transfer his interest in a village he can only part with it as a whole, and that the sale of a fractional share is void. The purchaser has to seek recognition from the Deputy Commissioner and is appointed like any other headman. If a *mulraiyat* is dismissed for misconduct the *mulraiyati* status lapses, and his successor has only the rights of an ordinary village headman.

Village headmen.

The extent to which the village headman system obtains in the Santāl Parganas may be gathered from the figures shown below:—

Area.	Number of villages.			
	Pradhāni.	*Mulraiyati.*	*Khās.*	Total.
Dāmin-i-koh ...	1,933	...	...	1,933
Zamīndāri area ..	6,775	540	1,753	9,068
Total ...	8,708	540	1,753	11,001

The position of the village headmen was first definitely defined in the course of Mr. Browne Wood's settlement, which dealt with two main classes, viz., the Santāl *mānjhi*, or representative of the village community, and the *mustājir*, or lessee, who was often an outside speculator, to whom a zamīndār leased a village for a term of years. The principle followed by Mr. Wood in making appointments of headmen in villages was to confirm existing lessees if they were really representative villagers, whose selection as headmen was acceptable alike to the ryots and the zamīndārs Long continued possession as a mere farmer was held to confer no right of occupancy or title to settlement. When an existing lessee refused settlement and no suitable headman could be found, the village was settled *khās* with the proprietor. The chief prerogatives of the headman were (1) his commission, levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of rent from the village ryots (in addition to their rent) and of one anna per rupee to be deducted from the rent payable to the landlord; (2) his enjoyment of the official holding called the *mānjhi mān* (now called *pradhāni* or *mustājiri jot*); (3) his right to hold rent-free, during the currency of the settlement, land reclaimed by himself from the waste; and (4) his right to receive rent at half the settlement rates ...

period, for all land reclaimed by other ryots of the village. In 1891 the principles followed at this settlement in the appointment and dismissal of headmen were embodied in a set of rules issued by the Commissioner, Mr. Quinn, and known as "Quinn's Rules," which prohibited the appointment of non-residents and all subdivision and transfer of the office of headman, and detailed the grounds on which headmen might be dismissed. These rules have been followed ever since, and are part and parcel of the agrarian law of the district.

Briefly, the position of the headman (*pradhān*) is as follows. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner after consulting the zamīndār and ryots, and the man appointed must be acceptable to the latter. The nearest male heir, if fit, has a preferential claim to the appointment: if he is a minor, he may be appointed with a *sarbarāhkār* to manage for him till he attains his majority. The headman may be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct, *e.g.*, for dishonesty, for oppressing the ryots and for failure without due cause to pay his village rents punctually. If he pays the village rent punctually he receives a commission; if he defaults, he is liable to dismissal and eviction from the whole or part of his private holding. Dismissal always involves the loss of the official holding which attaches to the post of headman. The official holding consists of lands that have come into his possession by virtue of his office or during his tenure of office, *e.g.*, old *mānjhi mān* that has always been attached to the office, or lands that belonged to a dismissed predecessor and were made over to him when he was appointed, or abandoned holdings that he has not settled with other ryots, or lands of other ryots that he purchased while headman and was allowed to retain at the resettlement. The private holding consists of the headman's ancestral lands together with such lands as he may have himself reclaimed. All the headman's lands, whether official or private, are assessed to rent, but no occupancy rights accrue in the official holding.

The commission is obtained partly from the ryots and partly from the proprietor. The headman is entitled to collect from the ryots one anna per rupee in excess of the settled rent and to receive from the proprietor one anna per rupee on the rent payable to him, if paid in due time, *i.e.*, on or before the appointed *kists*. In the Dāmin-i-koh the system of commission is different from that obtaining in zamīndāri areas, for the headman gets no commission from the ryots, but he gets 8 per cent. from Government. The headman has also a right to enjoy rent-free such of the village waste as he

reclaims himself and to recover rents at half the settlement rates for so much of the waste as ryots reclaim. As regards holdings that have become vacant on account of the desertion of ryots or their death without heirs, it is provided that the headman shall settle the entire holding with one or other of the following, giving preference in the order mentioned:—(1) with resident *jamābandi* ryots of the same community; (2) with himself, if resident, or with a resident *jamābandi* ryot of a different community; (3) with himself, if non-resident, or with a non-resident *jamābandi* ryot; and (4) with a non-*jamābandi* ryot. The term *jamābandi* ryot, it may be explained, is held to include the children and heirs of *jamābandi* ryots, and for the purpose of resettlement and reclamation does not include persons who have come into the village solely by purchase; the latter are called *kharidā* ryots. In the Dāmin-i-koh preference is given to a non-resident *jamābandi* ryot of the same community over a resident *jamābandi* ryot of a different community. A settlement with any person other than a resident *jamābandi* ryot of the same community requires the approval of the Settlement Officer.

Other duties incumbent on the headman are to perform certain police functions, the *chaukīdār* being subordinate to him, to collect *chaukīdāri* and other dues, to see that village irrigation works are kept in repair, and to look after village roads, boundary marks, camping and grazing grounds.

Ryoti rights.

The rent of a village remains unaltered till a fresh rent-roll is prepared under Regulation III of 1872 or Regulation II of 1886. The rent of a ryot's holding is similarly fixed, but a ryot taking up new land is liable to pay rent to the headman for it at half the prevailing rates. Except in a few areas, the interest of an occupancy ryot in his holding is non-transferable. If a holding is abandoned, the village ryots have a preferential claim to settlement; and the district authorities take active steps to evict from the land any person who obtains possession of a ryot's holding to the prejudice of the rights of the villagers. It is provided—(1) that *jamābandi* ryots have a preferential right to reclaim; (2) that no waste land may be settled with an outsider without the consent of the Subdivisional Officer and proprietor; (3) that no *sāl* or reserved trees may be cut down in order to reclaim without the consent of the proprietor; (4) that the ryots, if dissatisfied with the action of the headman in settling waste lands, or of the proprietor in unreasonably refusing to permit the cutting of *sāl* or reserved trees for reclamation, may appeal to the Subdivisional Officer, who has the necessary powers of intervention. Ryots cannot be evicted from their holdings except

by order of the Deputy Commissioner under section 25, Regulation II of 1886, which runs:—"A raiyat, whether recorded as possessing a right of occupancy or not, shall not be ejected from his holding otherwise than in execution of an order of the Deputy Commissioner." It has been held that a sub-tenant or under-ryot is entitled to the protection of this provision of the law. This ruling has tended to prevent sub-letting, as also has another ruling to the effect that rent cannot be recovered from a sub-tenant at higher than settlement rates. As regards inheritance, the person or persons who have been resident in the village, and have taken their part in the management of the family *jot*, are the only persons entitled to succeed to it as heirs on the death of the head of the family.

Transfer of ryoti rights.

Ryoti rights are transferable only in a small portion of the district (about 250 square miles) along the borders of Bīrbhūm, Mālda and Murshidābād, in the *khās* villages of Ambar, Rājmahāl, Muhammadābād and Sultānābād. In this area, which is inhabited mostly by Bengalis, transfers have been so frequent as to constitute a custom or have been recognized by Government and the Settlement Officers. Elsewhere transfer has been prohibited owing to the abuses which it caused. The practice of transfer sprung up soon after the conclusion of Mr. Wood's settlement, which gave the ryots stability of tenure and fixity of rents. The result was that occupancy rights became valuable, and the village usurer was not slow to see that here lay a ready means of circumventing the usury laws. In a very short time court and private sales of ryoti holdings became so numerous as to attract the attention of the local officers and of Government, and within 10 years of the settlement it was estimated that there had been about 10,000 cases of the former and 40,000 of the latter. The evil became so great that first the local courts and then Government found it necessary to declare that all transfers not clearly covered by the settlement record were illegal. The orders of Government to this effect were passed in 1887, and the practice of open transfer was immediately checked; but transfers in a disguised form continued, and for the following ten years the local officers had to be constantly on the watch to check the village lands passing into the hands of persons whose intrusion within the village community would have been harmful. When Mr. McPherson's settlement took place the orders, which had gradually been embodied in the agrarian case law of the district, were gathered together in the settlement rules and were sanctioned by Government in 1900. Subsequently the prohibition of transfer contained in those rules was embodied in the substantive

law of the district by the enactment of Regulation III of 1908, by which a new section (27) to that effect was added to Regulation III of 1872.

Parganas and tappas.

The following is a list of the revenue *parganas* and *tappas* of each subdivision, which, with the Dāmīn-i-koh, constitute the Santāl Parganas.

Subdivision.	*Pargana* or *tappa*.
Dumkā ...	Belpattā. Darin Mauleswar (part). Handwe. Muhammadābād.
Deoghar ...	Sarath Deoghar.
Goddā ...	Amlamatiā. Barkop. Goddā. Manibāri. Passoi. Pātsundā. Sultānābād (part).
Jāmtārā...	Kundahit Karaya. Pabbia.
Pākaur ...	Ambar. Sultānābād.
Rājmahāl	Akbarnagar. Bahādurpur. Chitauliā. Ināyatnagar. Jamuni. Kānkjol. Makrain. Sultānganj. Teliāgarhi.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE administration of the Santāl Parganas is conducted under special Regulations, the necessity of which was established by the Santāl rebellion of 1855 and has been confirmed by the experience of more than 50 years. The enquiry into the causes of the rebellion brought to light the unsuitability of the regulation system to the Santāl Parganas, inhabited as they are by the Santāls and other races far behind Bengalis in civilization. Accordingly, by Act XXXVII of 1855, these *parganas* were formed into a district and exempted from the operation of the general Regulations and Acts, as well as of any laws subsequently passed in which the district was not specially mentioned, except in regard to civil suits above Rs. 1,000 in value, the collection of revenue in permanently-settled estates, the sale of lands for arrears of revenue, etc. The exempted tract was placed under the Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division assisted by a Deputy Commissioner and a number of Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners. In 1856 a few simple rules for civil and criminal administration were laid down for the guidance of these officers; and for some years the Santāl Parganas were administered on a strict non-Regulation system. The chief principles of this system were that (1) no advocates, no pleaders or *mukhtārs*, and no middlemen between Government officers and the people were permitted; (2) the contact with the people was direct; (3) there was no regular police; and (4) the spirit of the laws not in force was regarded, but no technical forms were allowed.

SANTĀL PARGANAS REGULATIONS.

When the memory of the Santāl rebellion grew fainter the Government changed its policy. The rules in regard to the administration of criminal justice remained in operation till 1862, when the Penal Code was introduced; and although the Code of Criminal Procedure was not formally extended to the district, its officers were directed to act in accordance with its spirit. In 1863 a question arose whether the stamp law could not be enforced in the Santāl Parganas, and the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, expressed his opinion

that the Santāl Parganas should, as soon as practicable, be administered on the system in force in the rest of Bengal. These instructions and views were followed for some years, with the result that the Santāl Parganas drifted more or less under the ordinary law and procedure of regulation districts. The Rent Law, the Civil Procedure Code, the Stamp Act and other Acts were considered to be in force, and the Deputy Commissioner was practically transformed into a Judge, with headquarters at Bhāgalpur.

The dissatisfaction caused by this change of system culminated in the disturbances of 1871. An inquiry was held, which showed that the Santāls had real and substantial grievances, and the Government of India came to the conclusion that the indiscriminate extension of some of the Acts of the legislature to the Santāl Parganas had worked much mischief, and that the district still required a simpler form of administration than the rest of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly recommended that the Santāl Parganas should be removed from the operation of the laws applicable generally to Bengal and suggested that the best mode of effecting this object was to bring it within the scope of Act 33 Vic. cap. 3 (passed in Parliament in March 1870), which enabled Local Governments to make regulations for the peace and good government of territories to which the Act might be applied by the Secretary of State. This measure, followed by a suitable regulation, would, it was believed, place the action of Government on a legal basis, which would be wholly unassailable and which would best enable Government to apply from time to time the exact remedies required for evils which had been or might be shown to exist, without violently or unnecessarily disturbing the law or general administration of the district.

The Government of India acquiesced in this view, and the measure having received the approval of the Secretary of State, a notification was issued announcing the extension of the provisions of Section 1 of Act 33 Vic. cap. 3 to the Santāl Parganas. The Government of Bengal then submitted, and the Government of India sanctioned, a Regulation for the peace and good government of the Santāl Parganas, which passed into law as Regulation III of 1872. This Regulation gave the Lieutenant-Governor full power to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed rights, to restore dispossessed *mānjhis* and others, to settle rents and to record the customs and usages of the people. It also introduced a usury law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts; and it laid down what laws were to be in force in the Santāl Parganas

and what were left to the discretion of Government to introduce or withdraw as might be found desirable from time to time. The Lieutenant-Governor further took away from the Deputy Commissioner his powers as Sessions Judge and assigned them to the Sessions Court of Bīrbhūm and Bhāgalpur. At the same time, he brought within the Santāl Parganas the administration of civil justice, which for suits of over Rs. 1,000 in value had hitherto been exercised by the Civil Courts of those two districts. He further removed the Deputy Commissioner from Bhāgalpur and posted him at Dumkā, in the heart of his district, in order that he might be able to control its affairs adequately.

It was subsequently found necessary to define more clearly the status of the Courts, and this was effected by the enactment of Regulation V of 1893. In regard to criminal jurisdiction that Regulation constituted the Santāl Parganas a Sessions Division, the Court of the Deputy Commissioner the Court of Sessions of the Division, and the Deputy Commissioner the Judge of the Court of Sessions. It also provided that the High Court at Calcutta should (1) exercise jurisdiction in regard to European British subjects, (2) deal with all cases in which sentences of death had been passed, and (3) hear all appeals from orders of acquittal. In 1899 a regulation amending Regulation V of 1893 came into force. The new Regulation constituted the Court of the Sessions Judge of Bīrbhūm the Court of Sessions for the Santāl Parganas Sessions Division, and the Sessions Judge of Bīrbhūm the Judge of the Court of Sessions, the powers of a Sessions Judge exercised by the Deputy Commissioner being withdrawn. It further provided that the High Court at Calcutta, in addition to its jurisdiction under the Regulation of 1893, should exercise appellate and revisional jurisdiction in respect of all Sessions cases tried by the Judge of Bīrbhūm; that the Deputy Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the subordinate courts of the district; and that the Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the Deputy Commissioner and revisional jurisdiction over all the courts of the district.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES AND STAFF.

For administrative purposes the district is divided into six subdivisions with headquarters at Dumkā, Deoghar, Goddā, Jāmtārā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl. The sanctioned staff for the headquarters station (Dumkā) consists of four Deputy Magistrates with first class powers and of two Deputy Magistrates with second or third class powers. At Goddā, Deoghar and Rājmahāl the Subdivisional Officer is usually assisted by a Deputy and a Sub-Deputy Magistrate, and at Jāmtārā and Pākaur by a Sub-Deputy Magistrate. Besides the stipendiary Magistrates there are

Honorary Magistrates at Hiranpur and Pākaur (one each) and Benches of Honorary Magistrates at Deoghar, Madhupur and Sāhibganj.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The administration of justice in the Santāl Parganas is governed by the Santāl Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893, as amended by Regulation III of 1899, and differs materially from that in force elsewhere in Bengal. The jurisdiction of the High Court is restricted to the following matters:—(1) criminal cases tried by the Court of Sessions; (2) appeals by the Government against acquittals under section 417 of the Criminal Procedure Code; (3) criminal proceedings against European British subjects and persons charged jointly with them; and (4) civil suits in which the matter in dispute exceeds the value of Rs. 1,000, except suits relating to land or any office connected with land when a settlement is going on. As regards the former suits its appellate authority is limited to the orders of courts established under Act XII of 1887, which, under section 9 of Regulation V of 1893, have jurisdiction extending only to "suits of which the value exceeds Rs. 1,000 and which are not excluded from their cognizance by the Santāl Parganas Regulation or by any other law for the time being: "in the case of such suits the Civil Procedure Code is applicable. In other matters the functions of a High Court of Judicature are exercised by the Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division and Santāl Parganas.

The Sessions Judge of Bīrbhūm is Sessions Judge for the Santāl Parganas, while the Deputy Commissioner exercises powers under section 34 of the Criminal Procedure Code and also hears appeals from all Deputy Magistrates. Suits of a value exceeding Rs. 1,000 are tried by him as District Judge or by Subdivisional Officers vested with powers as Subordinate Judges, these courts being established under Act XII of 1887 and subordinate to the High Court of Calcutta. Suits valued at less than Rs. 500 are tried by Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors sitting as courts under Act XXXVII of 1855, appeals lying against their decisions to the Subdivisional Officer. The latter can try all suits cognizable by courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, and an appeal against their decisions lies to the Deputy Commissioner. There is no second appeal where the appellate court has upheld the original decree; but if the decree has been reversed a second appeal lies to the Commissioner of the Division. The Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner have powers of revision.

These ecorts follow a simple procedure, 38 simple rules replacing the Code of Civil Procedure. A decree is barred after

three years; imprisonment for debt is subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner; compound interest may not be decreed for an amount exceeding the principal debt. When any area is brought under settlement the jurisdiction of the courts under Act XII of 1887, and also of those under Act XXXVII of 1855, is ousted in regard to all suits connected with land, and such suits are tried by the Settlement Officer and his assistants. The finding of a settlement court has the force of a decree.

The Penal Code, the Evidence Act, the Registration Act, the Limitation Act, the Contract Act, the Probate and Administration Act and the Guardian and Wards Act are all in force. Practically the only important laws in force in Bengal that are not applicable to the Santāl Parganas are the Civil Procedure Code (as regards suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value), the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Transfer of Property Act and the Bengal Tenancy Act. The place of the Act last named is taken by the Santāl Parganas Regulations III of 1872 and II of 1886, and by the record-of-rights framed under them for each village. In criminal cases the accused is entitled, under section 340 of the Criminal Procedure Code, to be defended by a pleader, but as the Legal Practitioners Act is not in force the employment of a pleader is, under section 4(r) of the Code, subject to the permission of the court. In practice, the accused is allowed a pleader when the police are permitted to conduct the prosecution or when the charge is of a serious or somewhat complex nature; but pleaders are not usually allowed in simple cases where either of the parties is too poor to afford one. In cases before the Sessions Judge pleaders are allowed as a matter of course.

In suits tried by Subdivisional Officers, in their capacity as Subordinate Judges, the parties are considered to be entitled to employ pleaders, and it is laid down that these suits have to be tried according to the general laws and regulations. As regards civil cases before the Santāl Courts the usual practice is to allow pleaders when both sides can afford it and ask for it. If the request is refused it is only when the case is of a very simple nature and the parties would be merely wasting their money in employing pleaders. When one party is poor and cannot afford a pleader the court may, at its discretion, refuse to allow a pleader's services to be retained by the other party. In appeals pleaders are almost always allowed if asked for. Cases very often occur in which the courts themselves advise the parties to engage pleaders, but they decline to have them as they have learned to trust the courts to give their cases proper consideration. In spite of these limitations, there is a body of 107 legal practitioners, men who have fully qualified

as pleaders and *mukhtars* and apparently get sufficient employment to make it worth their while to work in the district. There is also a body of petition-writers, licensed by the Deputy Commissioner and Subdivisional Officers, who are to all intents and purposes qualified to draw up plaints and written statements, and to this extent do the work of legal practitioners.

POLICE.

Thānas.	*Outposts.*
Degohar ...	Sārawā.
Madhupur	Sarath.
Goddā	Mahāgamā. Poreyā.
Pākaur	Mahespur. Pākuriā.
Rājmahāl	Sāhibganj. Barharwā.

The regular police system is in force in Dumkā town, in the Deoghar subdivision and in those parts of the Goddā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl subdivisions which lie outside the Dāmin-i-koh. In this part of the district there are 5 thānas and 11 outposts as shown in the margin, and in 1907 the regular police force consisted of a Superintendent of Police, 8 inspectors, 37 sub-inspectors, 45 head constables and 388 constables—in all 479 men. The remainder of the district substitutes what is known as the "No Police Tract," *i.e.*, the Jāmtārā subdivision, those parts of the Goddā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl subdivisions which lie inside the Dāmin-i-koh, and the whole of the Dumkā subdivision except Dumkā town. These portions of the district are excluded from the jurisdiction of the regular police, and police duties are performed by village headmen under rules laid down in 1856, which are called "Yule's Rules" after the then Commissioner, Sir George Yule. The main principle of these rules was that the people should be their own police, and for this purpose the *mānjhis* of the village communities were given certain police powers and duties. In other areas police duties were to be performed by the zamīndāri *mandals*, and if the latter failed to perform them, the villagers were to select their own *mandals* for the purpose, the latter being known as *sarkāri mandals* or *jeth-raiyats.* Under this system the villages were grouped together under *parganaits* or Santāl tribal chiefs, *sardārs* or Pahāria tribal chiefs, and *ghātwāls* or service tenure-holders, each of whom corresponded to a thāna officer.

The system of village police administration was reorganized in 1901 and 1902 in consequence of the enactment of Regulation III of 1900 which first gave the rural police a legal status and provided for their regular payment. It did not affect the police duties of the village headmen, but it provided for the appointment of *sardārs* and deputy *sardārs* to perform the duties of control which were formerly carried out by the *parganaits*, *ghātwāls* and others, and it gave the Deputy Commissioner power to fix their remuneration and that of the *chaukidārs*, who are selected by the

villagers. The assessment to be paid by each village, having been fixed by him, is distributed among the villagers and is collected from them by their headmen. Under this system the "No Police Tract," outside the ordinary police jurisdiction, is served by *sardārs* and *chaukidārs*, who act directly under the authority of the Sub-divisional Officers. The *sardār* is appointed to groups of villages where there is no properly remunerated officer; where there is an important *hāt* or a town, he is assisted by a deputy *sardār*. He has the powers of an officer in charge of a thāna, and his office is thus not unlike that of a police sub-inspector, but has come to have a more or less hereditary character, the old *parganaits* and *ghātwāls* having been appointed *sardārs* whenever they were found to be literate and possessed the confidence of the people. Crime is ordinarily reported by the *sardārs* direct to the Sub-divisional Officers, who occasionally find it necessary to employ an officer of the regular police upon cases of a serious and intricate nature. The *sardāri* circle forms an administrative unit except in parts of the Dāmin-i-koh, where the unit is the Bungalow within the jurisdiction of a *parganait*. There are in the Dāmin-i-koh 47 *parganaits*; and in addition to the *parganaits* 20 Pahāria *sardārs*, 1 *naik*, 36 *naibs* and 436 *mānjhis* are still in receipt of stipends, which were first granted during Cleveland's administration. In the rest of the Dumkā subdivision there are 59 stipendiary *sardārs*, 4 *ghāt sardārs* remunerated by grants of land, and 752 *chaukidārs*, and in the Jāmtārā subdivision 2 *ghātwāls*, 27 *sardārs* and 523 *chaukidārs*.

There are subsidiary jails at Deoghar, Goddā, Rājmahāl, Jāmtārā and Pākaur, and a district jail at Dumkā. In 1907 the sub-jail at Deoghar had accommodation for 21 male and 3 female prisoners, the sub-jail at Goddā for 20 males and 6 females, the sub-jail at Rājmahāl for 16 males and 3 females, the sub-jail at Jāmtārā for 23 males and 3 females, and that at Pākaur for 17 males and 4 females. The jail at Dumkā has accommodation for 138 (131 male and 7 female) prisoners distributed as follows:—Barracks without separate sleeping accommodation are provided for 86 male convicts, 7 female convicts and 30 under-trial prisoners; the hospital holds 12 prisoners; and there are separate cells for 3 male convicts. The principal industries carried on in the jail are cloth-weaving, husking paddy and extracting aloe fibre. JAILS.

The revenue of the district under the main heads rose from Rs. 4,70,000 in 1880-81 (when the income-tax had not been imposed) to Rs. 5,63,000 in 1890-91, and to Rs. 6,79,000 in 1900-01. In 1907-08 it amounted to Rs. 10,94,000, of which REVENUE.

Rs. 4,02,000 were derived from land revenue, Rs. 4,58,000 from excise, Rs. 1,80,000 from stamps, Rs. 45,000 from income-tax and Rs. 9,000 from cesses.

Land Revenue. The collections of land revenue aggregated Rs. 2,43,000 in 1880-81, Rs. 2,90,000 in 1890-91 and Rs. 2,88,000 in 1900-01. They rose to Rs. 4,02,000 in 1907-08, when they accounted for nearly two-fifths of the total revenue of the district, this large increase being due to settlement operations. The current demand in the year last mentioned was Rs. 4,02,000 payable by 465 estates, Rs. 1,16,000 being due from 448 permanently-settled estates, Rs. 1,500 from 3 temporarily-settled estates and Rs. 2,84,500 from 14 estates held direct by Government.

Excise. The excise revenue increased from Rs. 1,65,000 in 1892-93 to Rs. 2,19,000 in 1900-01. Since that year there has been a further growth in the receipts, which in 1907-08 amounted to Rs. 4,58,000, the net excise revenue being Rs. 2,344 per 10,000 of the population (or a little over $3\frac{3}{4}$ annas a head), as compared with Rs. 2,697 for the Division and Rs. 3,206 for the Province. The greater portion of the excise revenue is derived from the sale of country spirit prepared by distillation from the flower of the *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The receipts from this source amounted in 1907-08 to Rs. 2,78,000 or more than three-fifths of the total excise revenue. The manufacture and sale of country spirit were until recently carried on under what is known as the central distillery system, *i.e.*, there was a central distillery at the head-quarters station of Nayā Dumkā which served the district as a whole. In 1907-08 the contract supply system was introduced in Deoghar, Jāmtārā, Rājmahāl and Pākaur subdivisions, *i.e.*, the supply of spirit to these places from the central distillery has been prohibited and a contract for the wholesale supply of spirit given out to a firm of distillers. The contractors are forbidden to hold any retail licenses for its sale, but are allowed the use of distillery and warehouse buildings for the storage of liquor. The right of retail vend is disposed of by separate shops, each of which is put up to auction; and the retail vendors are forbidden to sell liquor except at prescribed strengths, for which maximum prices are fixed. The central distillery system is still in force in the Dumkā and Goddā subdivisions. The marginal figures show the revenue from country spirit in 1889-90 under the outstill system, in 1905-06 under the central distillery system and in 1907-08 under that and the contract system combined. According to the returns for the year last mentioned, there are 141 shops for retail sale,

Year.		Rs.
1889-90	...	54,000
1905-06	...	1,56,000
1907-08	...	2,78,000

i.e., one retail shop to every 38·8 square miles and every 12,835 persons. The average consumption is 46 proof gallons per 1,000 of the population, the incidence of taxation per head of the population being 2½ annas.

The receipts from *pachwai*, or rice beer, are also considerable, amounting to Rs. 58,000 in 1907-08. This is the national drink of the aboriginals, who regard it as a nutritious food and utilize it as a substitute for a meal. The consumption of the fermented liquor known as *tāri* is not great, its sale in the same year realizing only Rs. 20,000. The receipts from hemp drugs and opium account for practically all the remainder of the excise revenue. The greater part (Rs. 79,000) is derived from the duty and license fees levied on *gānja*, *i.e.*, the dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant *(Cannabis sativa)* and the resinous exudation on them. The expenditure on hemp drugs represents Rs. 447 per 10,000 of the population, as compared with the average of Rs. 548 in the whole of Bengal. In 1907-08 the duty and license fees on opium brought in Rs. 20,000, and the incidence of expenditure was Rs. 113 per 10,000 of the population as compared with the Provincial average of Rs. 516 per 10,000.

Stamps.

The revenue from stamps ranks next in importance as a source of income to that derived from excise. The receipts from this source increased from Rs. 1,38,000 in 1897-98 to Rs. 1,80,000 in 1907-08, or by 30 per cent., the increase being due to the growing demand for judicial stamps, which brought in Rs. 1,53,000 as against Rs. 1,05,000 ten years previously The sale of court-fee stamps is by far the most important item in the receipts from judicial stamps, realizing Rs. 1,36,000 as compared with Rs. 98,000 in 1897-98. The revenue derived from non-judicial stamps declined during the same period from Rs. 33,000 to Rs. 27,000. Of the latter sum impressed stamps accounted for Rs. 26,000 or nearly the whole of the receipts from non-judicial stamps.

Cesses.

The Cess Act was introduced in 1901 into some selected portions of the district, in which resettlement operations had been concluded, and cesses were levied from the beginning of 1905-06 when the valuation of the resettled estates had been completed. They are, as usual, levied at the maximum rate of one anna in the rupee. The current demand in 1907-08 was Rs. 7,974 of which Rs. 7,958 were payable by 82 revenue-paying estates, while only Rs. 16 were due from seven revenue-free estates. The number of tenures assessed to cesses was 308, while the number of recorded shareholders of estates and tenures was 226 and 551 respectively. The operation of the Act will gradually be extended as other estates are resettled.

Income-tax.

In 1900-01 the income-tax yielded altogether Rs. 29,803 paid by 1,472 assessees, of whom 940, paying Rs. 10,720, had incomes over Rs. 500 but below Rs. 1,000. At that time the minimum assessable income was Rs. 500, but this was raised in 1903, by the Income-tax Amendment Act of that year, to Rs. 1,000 per annum, thereby affording relief to a number of petty traders, money-lenders and clerks. The number of assessees consequently fell in 1903-04 to 758, the net collections being Rs. 32,200. In 1907-08 the amount collected was Rs. 45,000 paid by 917 assessees.

Registration.

There are six offices for the registration of assurances under Act III of 1877. At the headquarters station (Nayā Dumkā) the District Sub-Registrar deals, as usual, with the documents presented there, and assists the Deputy Commissioner, who is *ex-officio* District Registrar, in supervising the proceedings of the Sub-Registrars who are in charge of the other registration offices. The average number of documents registered annually during the quinquennium ending in 1904 was 6,976 as against 8,658 in the preceeding five years, there being a decrease of over 19 per cent., which is attributed to the prohibition of alienations of ryoti holdings being more strictly enforced during the settlement operations, in consequence of which the inducement to enter into mortgage transactions diminished. There was, on the other hand, a marked increase in bonds. This would naturally follow the discouragement of mortgages; but it is also due to the growing appreciation of the benefits of registration by the mercantile class that lends money and deals in *sabai* grass as a material for the manufacture of paper. The marginal statement shows the number of documents registered and the receipts and expenditure of each office in 1908.

Name.	Documents registered.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
		Rs.	Rs.
Nayā Dumkā ...	960	1,319	1,405
Deoghar ...	1,253	1,740	1,336
Goddā ...	391	691	1,273
Jāmtārā ...	310	494	425
Pākaur ...	1,664	1,849	1,477
Rājmahāl ...	2,827	2,885	2,096
Total ...	7,405	8,978	8,012

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

DISTRICT ROAD COMMITTEE.

THE Local Self-Government Act has not been extended to the district, and until a few years ago the Cess Act (IX of 1880) was not in force. It was decided by Government in 1899 that the provisions of the latter Act should be gradually introduced into the district (excluding the Dāmin-i-koh) as portions of it came under resettlement: but its introduction was delayed by the fact that most of the zamīndāri estates are borne on the revenue roll of other districts. It was eventually introduced by a notification, dated 20th August 1901, into certain tracts which had recently been resettled, and it will gradually be extended as resettlement operations are completed. For those portions of the district which are not under the operation of the Act, and in which therefore there are no cess collections, funds are provided by a special Government grant. This grant and the receipts under the Cess Act are administered by the District Road Committee, consisting of 9 members, of whom three are *ex-officio* and the rest are non-official members, with the Deputy Commissioner as Chairman. This body maintains 3 dāk bungalows at Dumkā, Rājmahāl and Sāhibganj, and is in charge of the district roads, 43 in number, with a total length of 840 miles, and of 4 village roads with a length of 33 miles. It carries out agricultural and sanitary improvements in the Dāmin-i-koh, such as constructing, repairing and improving tanks, wells and irrigation reservoirs (*bāndhs*). It also constructs primary school buildings from grants placed at its disposal by the Education Department for that purpose, and it pays the travelling allowance of a Veterinary Assistant. The funds which it administers consist mainly of a Government grant and the cess on land, which is levied at the maximum rate and amounted to Rs. 4,186 in 1907-08. The amount realized from the cess will increase when estates borne on the revenue roll of other districts are valued and assessed, and will increase still further as the result of resettlement in this district.

MUNICIPALITIES.

There are four municipalities in the district, viz., Deoghar, Dumkā, Madhupur and Sāhibganj.

Deoghar. The Deoghar Municipality was constituted in 1869 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 16 Commissioners, of whom 7 are nominated by Government and 9 are elected. The area within municipal limits is 3½ square miles with a population of 7,019 persons, the number of rate-payers being only 951 or 13·54 per cent. of the population. The annual average income of the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 9,500, and the expenditure was Rs. 8,500, the corresponding figures for 1907-08 being Rs. 15,662 (excluding the opening balance) and Rs. 15,395 respectively. The rates and taxes consist of (1) a tax on persons in Ward I, according to their circumstances and property; (2) a rate on holdings in Wards II, III and IV at 6 per cent. of their annual value; (3) latrine fees at 3 per cent. on the annual value of holdings containing dwelling houses; (4) a tax on animals and vehicles; and (5) a tax on professions and trades. The incidence of taxation in 1907-08 was Re. 1-12-1 per head of the population.

Dumkā. The Dumkā Municipality was constituted in 1903 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 10 Commissioners, of whom 7 are nominated and 3 are *ex-officio* members. The area within municipal limits is 1½ square mile with a population of 5,326, the number of rate-payers being 1,023 or 19·20 per cent. of the population. The receipts in 1907-08 amounted to Rs. 8,684 (excluding the opening balance), and the expenditure was Rs. 6,573. The greater portion of its income is obtained from municipal rates and taxes, the most important of which is a rate on holdings at 7½ per cent. of their annual value. This rate realized Rs. 4,020 in 1907-08, while Rs. 1,350 were obtained from a tax on animals and vehicles and Rs. 1,420 from a conservancy rate. The latter rate is levied at 2½ per cent, on the annual value of holdings, provided that it must not be less than one anna or more than one rupee a month. The incidence of taxation in the same year was Re. 1-7-1 per head of the population and was less than in Deoghar and Sāhibganj.

Madhupur. The municipality of Madhupur has recently been constituted by a notification of the 3rd April 1909. The municipality has a population of 5,665 persons and includes the following villages:—Paniākolā, Patharchapti, Sheikhpurā, Bherwā, Lakhnā, Sapahā, Teliābānk and Madhupur (*Khās*). The Municipal Board is to consist of 10 Commissioners, and it is estimated that the approximate annual income will be Rs. 7,700.

Sāhibganj. The Sāhibganj Municipality was constituted in 1883 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 9 Commissioners, of whom six are elected, one is nominated and two are *ex-officio*

members. The area within municipal limits is 1¾ square mile, with a population of 7,894 persons, the number of rate-payers being 1,648 or 20·87 per cent. of the population. The average annual income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 15,000, and the expenditure was Rs. 14,000; the corresponding figures for 1907-08 were Rs. 21,467 (excluding the opening balance) and Rs. 20,149. The incidence of taxation in 1907-08 was Rs. 2-3-6, the rates and taxes levied being (1) a rate on holdings at 7½ per cent. of their annual value; (2) a conservancy rate at 3½ per cent. on the annual value of holdings; (3) a tax on animals and vehicles; and (4) a tax on professions and trade.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION. THE figures in the marginal table will sufficiently illustrate the progress made in education since 1873, when a definite system of vernacular education was first introduced. In spite, however, of the advance which has been made, it must be admitted that the district is a backward one, chiefly because the population is mainly composed of aboriginals, who have little thirst for knowledge. This is made clear by the census statistics of 1901, according to which only 2·5 per cent. of the population (4·7 males and 0·2 females) are literate, *i.e.*, able to read and write. On the other hand considerable progress appears to have been made since 1891, when only 2·8 per cent. of the male population were literate; and the returns for 1907-08 seem to show that this progress has been maintained, as 19·1 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were attending school at the close of the year.

Year.	Schools.	Scholars.
1873 ...	116	1,169
1891 ...	881	18,164
1901 ...	1,002	22,755
1908 ...	1,030	27,326

Of the 1,030 schools shown in the above table 951 are public institutions, 26 being under the management of Government, while 701 are aided and 224 are unaided. They include 5 High English schools, 11 Middle English schools, 14 Middle Vernacular schools, 888 Primary schools, 15 training schools, 15 *maktabs*, 1 *madrasa*, 1 Sanskrit school and 1 railway school. There are also 79 private institutions, which do not comply with the departmental standards, *viz.*, 65 Vernacular schools, 3 Sanskrit *tols* and 11 Korān schools. The number of pupils on the rolls of the private institutions in 1908 was 989, and of the public institutions 26,337.

INSPECTING STAFF. The inspecting staff consists of a Deputy Inspector of Schools for the district as a whole, an Additional Deputy Inspector to assist him in inspecting schools, 6 Sub-Inspectors (one for each subdivision), 4 Sub-Inspectors of Santāl schools in the Dumkā, Goddā, Jāmtārā and Pākaur subdivisions, an Assistant Sub-Inspector in the Mahāgamā thāna of the Godda subdivision, 14 Inspecting Pandits, and 2 Santāl Inspecting Pandits.

There are 5 High schools, of which the Dumkā Zilā School, with 174 boys on the rolls, is managed by Government. The other four schools, which are situated at Deoghar, Goddā, Jāmtārā and Pākaur, are aided by Government, and in 1908 had altogether 572 boys on the rolls. There are also 11 Middle English schools, with an attendance of 837 pupils, of which 7 are aided by Government and 4 are unaided. The number of Middle Vernacular schools is 14, of which 3 are managed by Government and 11 are aided: they are attended by 514 boys and 286 girls. SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

There are 861 Primary schools for boys and 27 Primary schools for girls, attended by 22,555 and 590 pupils respectively. Of the former 122 are Upper Primary schools with 4,780 pupils, and 739 are Lower Primary schools with 17,775 pupils. Altogether 15 night schools are at work, but the system is said not to be a success in this district. PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

Altogether 34 girls' schools were in existence in 1908, *viz.*, 4 Middle Vernacular schools with 282 pupils, 2 Upper Primary schools with 61 pupils, 25 Lower Primary schools with 529 pupils, 1 training school with 40 pupils and 2 miscellaneous schools. The total attendance at these schools was 955, of whom 916 were girls. Besides these, 555 girls were reading in boys' schools, so that the total number of girls under instruction was 1,471, only one in every 93 girls of school-going age being at school. GIRLS' SCHOOLS.

In 1906-07 there were 6 Guru Training schools in the district, one having been started for each subdivision, and 5 more were opened in 1907-08. These 11 schools are managed by Government; and there are also 4 training schools for Santāl Gurus (3 for male teachers and 1 for female teachers), which are aided by Government, but are under the direct supervision and management of the missionaries at Benāgarhiā and Taljhari. Of other schools the only one calling for special mention is the railway school at Madhupur. OTHER SCHOOLS.

The Muhammadans in this district number 151,993 or 8·3 per cent. of the population, while the number of Muhammadan pupils is 3,194, representing 10·7 per cent. of pupils of all creeds. The chief Muhammadan educational institution is the Madrasa at Dilālpur in the Rājmahāl subdivision, which has 44 pupils. It is supported by private subscriptions and gives free education and boarding to the pupils, who are taught Arabic, Persian, Urdu and theology. For the encouragement of elementary secular education among Musalmāns a grant of Rs. 500 is made every year in aid of those elementary Korān schools which are willing to adopt the departmental primary course. EDUCATION OF MUHAMMADANS.

EDUCATION OF ABORIGINALS.

According to the departmental returns, the number of aboriginals under instruction in 1907-08 was 7,787, of whom 7,070 were non-Christians and 717 were Christians, *viz.*, 691 Santāls and 26 Pahārias. Special measures are adopted for diffusing education among the aboriginal races of the district, particularly among the Santāls. Of 41 Lower Primary scholarships 13 have been reserved for aboriginal pupils since 1904-05; there is a special primary grant of Rs 9,200 per annum for Santāl schools; and these schools have a special inspecting staff consisting of 4 Sub-Inspectors and 2 Inspecting Pandits, who are generally recruited from among the Santāls. There is, moreover, an Inspecting Pandit entertained by the Church Missionary Society at Pathra in the Goddā subdivision for inspecting the Pahāria schools under the control of that society. Much has also been done by the missionaries established at other places, *e.g.*, Benāgarhiā and Taljhari, who have opened schools in different parts of the district and have created a written Santāli language. There seems to be no doubt that education is spreading among the Santāls, and at present a number of Santāls are employed as clerks, teachers, process-serving peons, road *sarkārs*, policemen and vaccinators; while unpaid Santāls render useful service in police-work, road-making, the registration of statistics, etc.

CHAPTER XVI.

GAZETTEER.

Ambar.—A *pargana* in the north-east of the Pākaur subdivision. The estate comprising this *pargana* has long been held by a family of Kanauj Brāhmans, whose tradition of origin is as follows. It is said that during the reign of Akbar a pestilence broke out in Kanauj, and a number of its inhabitants, both Hindus and Muhammadans, migrated to this part of the country, which was then covered with dense forest, and brought it under cultivation. When Rājā Pratāpāditya of the Sundarbans rose in rebellion, and Mān Singh was sent against him in command of the imperial troops, one of the ancestors of the present proprietors assisted Mān Singh with a body of aborigines. As a reward for his services he was given a grant of this *pargana* in *jāgir*, and the tract was called Ambar after the province of Ambar in Rājputāna, the home of Mān Singh. The *pargana* originally stretched across the Rājmahāl Hills, and its Rājās were the overlords of the Maler of Saurpal or Sumarpal. The latter tract in course of time became a separate *tappa* and was included by Cleveland in the Dāmin-i-koh; while the plains portion of the estate, which retained the name of Ambar and was in possession of the Brāhman proprietors, was transferred at Cleveland's instance from the Rājshāhi district to Bhāgalpur in 1781. At the time of Buchanan Hamilton (1809) the estate was held by Prithi Chānd Sāhi, who is still remembered as a Sanskrit scholar, poet, essayist and builder of temples. The last proprietor was Sitesh Chandra Pānde, who had the title of Rājā conferred on him in 1891. He died in 1900 and was succeeded by Kumār Kālī Dās Pānde, during whose minority the estate is under the management of the Court of Wards. The rent-roll of the estate is Rs. 89,000 and its land revenue Rs. 9,255.

Baidyanāth.—A junction on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway in the north-west of the Deoghar subdivision. The name properly belongs to the town of Deoghar, which is called Baidyanāth-Deoghar by the Postal Department, the village situated at the junction being locally called Jasidih. For the

history of Baidyanāth the reader is referred to the article on Deoghar.

Barkop.—A *tappa* in the Goddā subdivision, with an area of about 20 square miles, situated between *pargana* Goddā on the south and *tappa* Pātsundā on the north. It is said to have derived its name from an old village of the same name containing twelve ancient wells (*bārah-kūp*). According to local tradition, the estate was formerly held by Nat Rājās, but during the reign of Akbar came into the possession of a Khetauri family. The head of the family was one Deb Barm, a Khetauri chief of Kharagpur (in Monghyr), who, being driven out of that tract by Rājput invaders, settled in Pātsundā, having obtained a grant of Pātsundā and Barkop from the Mughal Viceroy. In 1687 the estate was divided between two of his descendants, Mani Barm retaining Barkop, while Pātsundā was handed over to his younger brother, Chandra Barm. The proprietor at the time of the Permanent Settlement was one Ujit Barm, who died without male issue in 1835, leaving two widows, Lilābatī and Bhulanbatī. After the death of Lilābatī Bhulanbatī adopted Chandra Dayāl Barm, of the Pātsundā family, in 1875. She died shortly afterwards, and the estate came under the Court of Wards. The validity of the adoption was disputed by the sons of Lilābatī's daughter, who had married into the Handwe family. A compromise was effected by Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner, according to which the proprietary right was split up among the rival claimants. The estate is now encumbered with debt, and half of it has already been alienated by sale. The rent-roll is about Rs. 80,000 and the land revenue demand is Rs. 2,783-13-0.

There are a few places of interest in the estate which may suitably be mentioned here. In the village of Bastara there is a large tank, said to date from time immemorial. It is held sacred by Hindus, who come in large numbers to bathe in it during the Sankrānti festival of Chait, the festival being the occasion for a fair. A legend connected with the tank is that formerly people requiring cooking or other utensils for marriages or other social ceremonies had only to ask for them and they appeared miraculously from the waters of the tank. They were bound to return them to the tank when they were no longer wanted, and he who did not do so was visited by some calamity or misfortune. In course of time the people, growing dishonest, did not give back the articles they had borrowed, and the supply stopped for ever. It is also believed that no one has ever been able to cross the tank from one end to another whether by swimming, on an elephant or in a boat; if any one ventured to make

the attempt he would find mysterious chains encircling his feet and dragging him down to a watery grave. This property the tank is believed to retain even now, and nobody ever thinks of crossing it. At Kurma there is an old building which is said to have been built by the Viceroy Shāh Shujā, a brother of Aurangzeb, as a *shikārgāh* or hunting lodge, and at Bodra, about 4 miles from Barkop, there is an old stone temple dedicated to Mahādeva. Shalput, 6 miles north of Barkop, contains the *dargāh* or tomb of Pīr Sagonā Shāh, who is regarded by the Muhammadans of the locality as a great saint. He is said to have performed his devotions on the top of Saurari hill, where some ruins mark his retreat. Within the premises of the house occupied by the descendants of Rājā Ajit Barm there is an old building, said to have belonged to the Nat Rājās, one room in which is believed to be haunted and is not used by the present owners. At Kapaita, 6 miles from Barkop, there are the ruins of another building, which is said to have belonged to one of the same Rājās.

Belpatta.—A *tappa* in the south of the Dumkā subdivision. This *tappa* formerly was held by the Rājās of Bīrbhūm, but was transferred to Bhāgalpur in 1781 on the recommendation of Cleveland, who brought it under the hill system. It is now broken up into numerous estates, and has passed into the hands of purchasers who have nothing to do with the original family of proprietors. It includes three *tāluks*, viz., Uparbahāl, Sapchalā and Amgāchi.

Dāmin-i-koh.—A Government estate in the north-east of the district extending over 1,356 square miles and including portions of the Rājmahāl, Pākaur, Goddā and Dumkā subdivisions. The name is a Persian one, meaning the skirts of the hills, but the estate comprises not only, as might be supposed from the name, the country lying at the foot or on the slopes of the Rājmahāl Hills, but almost the whole range between the Ganges on the north and the Brāhmanī river on the south. The tract it covers consists of hills surrounded by flat country, with fertile valleys lying, in some instances, between parallel ranges. The average altitude is from 200 to 1,500 feet, and on the tops of the hills, especially towards the south, there are extensive tablelands suitable for plough cultivation. The valleys lying at the foot of the hills are well-watered by streams, and are cultivated and inhabited for the most part by Santāls. The latter are comparatively recent immigrants, the Dāmin-i-koh having been formerly inhabited only by the Pahārias, who were chiefly known and feared as freebooters and cattle-lifters. The Muhammadan rulers seem to have made no

attempt to subjugate and civilize these caterans, and beyond granting *jāgīrs* or *ghātwālis* to the zamīndārs of the neighbouring tracts, in order that they might entertain a militia to keep the hillmen within bounds, they seem to have left them alone.

After the disruption of the Mughal government the raids of the Pahārias increased to such an extent that the zamīndārs of the neighbouring tracts were unable to keep them in check. In 1772 a corps of light infantry was raised by the British Government to check their raids, this corps being placed under the command of Captain Brooke, who was succeeded by Captain Browne in 1774. Both these officers led successful expeditions through the Dāmin-i-koh, and the latter devised a scheme of police posts at important points for the pacification of the hillmen. It was left, however, to Augustus Cleveland, who became Collector of Bhāgalpur in 1779, to bring the hillmen really under subjection. Seeing that the police posts were insufficient, many of them having been abandoned he took steps to re-establish them and to complete the *chaukībandi* or line of posts round the hills. He also realized that if the Pahārias were really to be pacified they must be conciliated. With this object he proposed to pay 26 Pahāria chiefs monthly stipends of Rs. 10 each and 58 deputy chiefs Rs. 5 each in consideration of their performing the duties of police in the hills and preventing incursions into the plains. Government agreed to this proposal and also sanctioned, in 1781, a scheme put forward by Cleveland for raising a corps of archers which would preserve the peace in the hills and punish marauders. Notwithstanding the raising of this corps, the stipends continued to be paid to the chiefs and deputies, as well as a stipend of Rs. 2 per mensem to the headmen of each hill that supplied a man to the corps. Cleveland also had the hill people removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; and, by a special order of Government, a council of hill chiefs, presided over by Cleveland himself, tried all cases in which the hillmen were concerned. This system proved successful, crimes of violence being reduced to a minimum; but after Cleveland's death in 1784, the administration of his system was practically left in the hands of a corrupt native officer, Abdul Rasul Khān, who was known as the *Sazāwal* of the hills.

At this time there was a broad belt of country at the base of the hills, devoid of cultivation and covered with forest. When Cleveland removed the hill area from the ordinary jurisdiction, he also removed from the jurisdiction of the zamīndārs this tract of forest, which he named the Dāmin-i-koh or skirts of the hills. He held that it was the property of the hillmen, and it

was a part of his scheme to induce them to leave their hills, and establish themselves in the plains, by assigning to them freehold grants of land on condition that they cleared and cultivated them on long leases. The area that he proposed to allot for cultivation was not demarcated, but was roughly taken to be all the forest and waste land at the foot of the hills. The Pahārias, however, failed to cultivate the area set apart for them and allowed the Santāls to enter upon their reservation, cut down the forests and bring the land under the plough.

In 1818 Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhāgalpur, was deputed to make an enquiry regarding the administration of the hills and the lands adjoining them. He recommended in 1819 that Government should declare its exclusive rights as proprietor of the hills generally occupied by the hill people, and also of the country at the foot of the hills which was not held by zamīndārs. Government accepted his recommendation, and in a resolution, dated the 17th July 1823, declared that the hill people had become the direct ryots of Government and that all the rights that might at any previous time have attached to the zamīndārs and others over the hills and contiguous tracts of land occupied by the Pahārias must be regarded as having ceased. It held that the settlement of this point was merely of importance as clearing the way to a proper understanding of the question to whom the adjacent forests were to be assigned. In other respects it was of little moment, as "Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil."

The resolution went on as follows:—"There seems from what is stated by Mr. Sutherland to be abundant reason to conclude that, on introducing the system adopted in 1780 for the pacification of the hills, it was the intention of Government to take both the hills and adjacent forests into its own direct management. The reasons were:—(1) The *Sazāwal* was always designated *Sazāwal* of the hills and of the Dāmin-i-koh or skirts of the hills. (2) Both Captain Browne and Mr. Cleveland made many appropriations of lands in the forests and skirts of the hills as well to *ghātwāls* and invalids as to different persons willing to clear and cultivate them, and this they did without reference to the claims of the adjoining Rājās and zamīndārs. (3) It was a part of the projected system to settle the hillmen in the forest and thus to promote both their civilization and their improvement of the country at the same time. This plan was specially submitted to and approved by Government, which sufficiently proves

that the forests were considered to be exclusively at its disposal. (4) The *sanads* granted to the *ghātwāls* have a clause authorizing them to assign land in the forest to any hill people who might be desirous of settling them without any advertence to the consent of the zamīndār. (5) The zamīndārs have no title to urge to the Dāmin-i-koh that would not, if admitted, include the hills also, for the two do not appear to have been ever separated before. Hence, as the pacification of the hills was made by resuming their interests and excluding their influence from the tract, it would seem naturally to follow that their seignorial rights over both were annulled at the same time."

The result of this resolution was that in 1824 Mr. J. P. Ward was directed to assert the right of Government to the hilly tract, or Dāmin-i-koh, on the exterior range, to define the extent of it, and to lay down such permanent boundary marks as might allow of it being easily retraced. He was also required to report, after consulting with the Magistrate, whether it would be advisable to assign the tract, when defined, to the hill people in *jāgir* tenure or to dispose of it in any other mode. In compliance with these orders Mr. Ward made a demarcation of the Dāmin-i-koh between 1824 and 1833, and erected masonry pillars in a ring-fence round the outer margin of the hills which hem in the Dāmin-i-koh. This boundary is practically that which exists at the present day. The demarcation was carried out with the express object of reserving the Dāmin-i-koh for the Pahārias alone, and granting its fertile valleys as lands to be cultivated by them and their descendants free of rent for ever. In the course of his demarcation Mr. Ward made two discoveries. He found that the Pahārias would not come down from their hills, as was expected, nor engage in tillage; while on the borders, and even inside the demarcated tract, he found a tribe of immigrants newly come from Singhbhūm, whom he called Sontars, and who were clearing the forests and reclaiming the waste lands. In many cases the hill *sardārs* were taking rent from them for their newly settled villages; and in reporting the fact to the Board of Revenue Mr. Ward asked how these usurpations were to be dealt with. He also proposed to introduce the Santāls into the Dāmin-i-koh as there was no prospect of the hillmen ever undertaking its cultivation, and the Santāls were "an industrious race of people, who require only good treatment to make them useful and profitable ryots."

The Board of Revenue answered this reference by desiring Mr. Ward to resume the settlements usurped by the hillmen and forwarded his proposal to form Santāl settlements to the

Government, with a strong recommendation that it should be sanctioned. The Government, however, true to the traditional policy of reserving this tract for the hillmen, refused to accede to it and were in favour of assigning the Pahārias one-half of the cultivated land included within the demarcated line, under freehold grants, on condition that they cultivated it within a specified period. The areas of the grants were to be graduated according to the rank of the grantee, *e.g.*, *sardār*, *naib*, or simple *mānjhi*. A large number of such grants were made by Mr. Ward and subsequently by Mr. Pontet, who was appointed Superintendent of the Dāmin-i-koh in 1837. A very few of these grants still exist; the remainder were speedily forfeited, as the grantees either made no attempts to clear them or at once assigned them to Santāl settlers, from whom they took rents. In spite of this Government still insisted that the demarcated area should be reserved for the benefit of the hillmen, and there is no record that this prohibition was ever formally removed. In 1837, however, when Mr. Dunbar, the then Collector of Bhāgalpur, after a personal conference with the Board of Revenue and with the Government, obtained sanction to the appointment of Mr. Pontet as Superintendent of the Dāmin-i-koh, the latter was directed, in order to make the estate productive, to give every encouragement to Santāls in the work of clearing jungle.

Mr. Pontet, who is still remembered as Ponteen Sāheb, remained in charge of the Dāmin-i-koh till after the Santāl insurrection of 1855. He had his headquarters at Bhāgalpur and used to tour in the estate during the cold season and collect the rents. He opened it up by means of roads, settled bazars and *hāts* and established inspection bungalows; most of the existing roads in the tract follow the alignment made by him. While he was thus developing the estate the stream of Santāl immigration continued. The Santāls were treated for some years under the special Regulation (I of 1827) framed for the Pahārias and, when its application to them was stopped, with great liberality as regards their holdings and assessments. In spite of this the Santāls settled in the Dāmin-i-koh rose in rebellion in 1855, in order to free themselves from the oppression of their Hindustāni and Bengali money-lenders and of the local police, and partly also, there is reason to believe, in order to make good their claim that what they had reclaimed belonged to themselves alone. When the rebellion was quelled, the administration of the estate was continued on the same exclusive principles, and the old restrictions which closed the hillmen's country against members of other races were enforced for the Santāls. Their assessment

at low rates and with favourable conditions was continued, and under this system the Dāmin-i-koh has remained ever since.

Under the management of Mr. Pontet rents were assessed by a rough computation of the cultivated area known as the *rekbandi* system, and the rental of the estate rose from Rs. 2,611 in 1836-37 to Rs. 58,033 in 1854-55, owing to the immigration of Santāls. The first regular settlement of the estate was made in 1857-58, when the rental was fixed at Rs. 55,050; and in 1868 another settlement was made by Mr. Blumhardt for six years (subsequently extended for five years more), which increased the demand to Rs. 1,00,165. The basis of assessment in both these settlements was the number of ploughs in each village, and it was not till the settlement made by Mr. Browne Wood, in 1878-79, that the village boundaries were surveyed by chain and compass. A lump assessment was made for the whole village and distributed by *panchāyats* among the ryots, the result being to increase the revenue of the estate to Rs. 1,67,191. The term of this settlement was 10 years; but on its expiry Government decided that resettlement should be deferred, as it might unsettle the Santāls without producing any large increase of revenue. A resettlement and survey were finally sanctioned in 1899 and were carried to a conclusion by Mr. H. McPherson in 1905. Altogether 1,096 square miles came under survey and settlement, and one square mile in the town of Sāhibganj under survey only. The remaining 258 square miles consisted of 215 square miles of unsurveyed and unsettled Pahāria country and 43 square miles previously settled in the Pākaur Dāmīn. Of the area under settlement 375,267 acres or 55 per cent. were found to be under cultivation, as compared with 27,629 acres at the settlement of 1879. Owing to this large extension of cultivation there was a considerable increase in the assessment, the rents settled by Mr. McPherson being Rs. 2,48,858 for the first five years and Rs. 2,67,929 from the sixth year upwards, representing annas 10-9 and annas 11-6 per acre respectively.

According to the census of 1901 the population of the Dāmin-i-koh is 358,294, of whom no less than 226,540 are Santāls, who chiefly occupy the valleys and level portions of the estate. The next most numerous race consist of the Pahārias, of whom there are two branches, the Maler and the Māl Pahārias. The former are found in the northern half of the estate in Rājmahāl, the northern hills of Pākaur and in Goddā north of the Bokrābāndh Bungalow. The latter occupy the Dumkā portion of the Dāmin-i-koh, the Bokrābāndh Bungalow of Goddā and South Pākaur. The Pahāria villages are usually

situated on the tops of the ridges, and round the homesteads are the village *bāri* lands extending to the brow of the hill. This area of homestead and cultivation is cut off from the lands, which the Santāls occupy, by steep declivities, on portions of which the Pahārias usually practise *kurāo* cultivation.

The Dāmin-i-koh has always been regarded by Government as a reserve for the aboriginal races of the district ; and the intrusion of non-aborigines or foreigners, called *Dikkus*, has always been kept within the narrowest limits. It is, therefore, laid down that foreigners must not ordinarily be permitted to hold land within the boundaries of the Dāmin, and any one who may be improperly admitted is liable to be evicted, unless there is good cause to the contrary. In the course of Mr. McPherson's settlement it was found that the average *Dikku* holding was 4·47 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 5-4, while the average non-*Dikku* holding was 6·89 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 4-4-9. Headmen to the number of 1,991 had holdings averaging 18 acres with a rent of Rs. 11-11 ; and 1,009 headmen had, in addition, official holdings averaging 3·73 acres with a rent of Rs. 3-10.

Deoghar.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated 4 miles south-east of the Baidyanāth station on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, with which it is connected by a light railway. To the north of the town is a wood called the Dātā Jungle, after a *fakīr* whose descendants own the land; on the north-west is a low hill called Nandaha Pahār; a fine range of hills known as Tiur or Trikutparvata lies about 7 miles to the east; to the south-east, south and south-west are more hills, all within 12 miles of the town. Immediately to the west there is a small rivulet named Yamunājor, and about half a mile further west is the river Dharuā, which, making a bend, runs about a mile to the south of the town. The space between Deoghar and this river belongs to the *ghātwāli* estate of Rohinī, the village of Rohinī being situated about three miles to the west of the river. The situation of the town is picturesque, as viewed from the train as it approaches the bridge over the Dharuā. In the foreground is the river, and beyond it lies the town surrounded by large trees covered with thick foliage, from the centre of which rise the pinnacles of the sacred temples of Baidyanāth. In the distance lies a cluster of hills forming a back-ground of blue-green. The country around Deoghar is also picturesque, being undulating and interspered with numerous watercourses and small hills, some of which are covered with brush-wood, while others are destitute of

vegetation. The climate is dry and healthy, the soil is particularly light and porous; and there is comparatively little malarial fever, or other diseases prevalent in damp places.

The population of Deoghar, according to the census of 1901, is 8,838, but the permanent population of the town is very largely augmented by pilgrims at all times of the year, especially during the months of January, February and September. Two to fifty thousand pilgrims are said to come at different festivals, while the annual influx of pilgrims has been estimated at 200,000 to 300,000, of whom from 20,000 to 40,000 are said to come in January, 50,000 to 100,000 in February, 30,000 to 40,000 in September, and 100,000 to 120,000 during the other months of the year. This estimate is perhaps excessive, for it is reported that in 1908-09 the place was visited by only 28,000 pilgrims. For the accommodation of pilgrims there are 63 lodging-houses, but many of them do not resort to them but camp out under trees or in open spaces. The pilgrims, moreover, do not, as a rule, stay at Deoghar for more than 10 or 12 hours. The town contains the usual offices and buildings common in a subdivisional headquarters, a good dispensary and a leper asylum (the Rāj Kumāri Leper Asylum). It was constituted a municipality in 1869, and the area within municipal limits is 3½ square miles. The place has a reputation as a sanatorium among the Indian community, and the numerous houses springing up on its outskirts testify to its popularity among those who can afford to maintain country houses.

The real fame of Deoghar rests upon the sanctity of its temples and its importance as a place of pilgrimage.* Its renown for sanctity is testified by the thousands of pilgrims who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Purānas to the Tretā Yuga or second age of the world. According to the Siva Purāna, it was in the Treta Yuga that the demon Rāvana, King of Lankā (Ceylon) feeling that his capital would not be perfect without the presence of Mahādeva, repaired to the Kailāsa mountain and besought the god to make it his permanent home. Mahādeva did not accede to this prayer, but told Rāvāna that one of the twelve emblems of this divinity (*Jyotirlinga*) would be quite as effective, and that he might take it away on the condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey. Should the lingam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey it would remain fixed on that

* The subsequent account is derived almost entirely from *The Temples of Deoghar*, by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, J. A. S. B., Part 1., 1883.

spot for ever. Rāvana, thereupon, took the lingam and began his journey back to Lankā.

The gods dreaded the effect of the lingam being established in the kingdom of their most powerful enemy, for if Mahādeva were to be the protector of the demon's metropolis they would have no means left to overthrow him. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised a plan for outwitting their enemy. Varuna, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of Rāvana, with the result that the demon had to descend to earth to relieve himself. There Vishnu, in the garb of a decrepit old Brāhman, appeared before him and began to converse with him. Unconscious of the plot that had been laid, Rāvana begged the Brāhman to help him by holding the sacred emblem for a few minutes, a request which was readily acceded to. Rāvana then made over the lingam to him, and retired to ease himself. When he came back the Brāhman had disappeared, and the lingam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the place where he had descended to earth. Rāvana tried hard to remove the lingam from the spot where it had been placed, but without success. Growing desperate he used violence, but he only succeeded in breaking a piece off the top of the lingam. Realizing his folly he prostrated himself before the lingam and begged for pardon. Further, to atone for his sacrilegious violence, he came daily to the place and worshipped the divinity with libations of sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges in the Himālayas. This latter duty was afterwards rendered unnecessary by the excavation of a well, in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were stored. The spot where Rāvana came down to earth is identified with the present Harlājuri, about four miles north of Deoghar; the place where the lingam was deposited is now Deoghar; and the lingam itself is known as Baidyanāth.

According to the Padma Purāna the Brāhman to whom Rāvana entrusted the lingam deposited it in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers and then departed. A Bhil who was present when this was done received instructions from the Brāhman as to how the worship of the emblem should be conducted, but having no vessel at hand, brought the water required for libations in his mouth. When Rāvana at last returned, the Bhil related all that had happened, and pointed out that the Brāhman was no other than Vishnu himself. Rāvana then excavated a well with an arrow and brought into it the waters of all sacred pools on earth for the fitting worship of the god. According to other traditions, not noticed in any Purāna, the lingam lay neglected after the death

of Rāvana until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Baiju by name, who accepted it as his god and worshipped it daily, proclaiming it to the world as the lord of Baiju (Baidyanāth). Before this occurrence the lingam was known by its original name of Jyotirlinga (the lingam of light) or by the name it derived from its tranfer, viz., Rāvaneswar.

Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal* relates the Santāl tradition of Baidyanāth as follows :—" In the olden time a band of Brāhmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Brāhmans placed the symbol of their god Siva near the lake and did sacrifice to it; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came as before to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Brāhmans, moreover, ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil; but the hillmen hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while the women tilled little patches of Indian corn. But in process of time the Brāhmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust and seldom calling on their god Siva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Baiju, a man of a mighty arm and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wroth at the lies and wantonness of the Brāhmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god Siva with his club every day before touching food. This he did: but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day he came home hungry and weary, and, having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food he called to mind his vow; and worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Brāhmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said :—'Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given.' Baiju answered: 'I am strong of arm and rich of cattle. I am a leader of my people: what want I more? Thou art called Nāth (Lord). Let me too be called lord, and let thy temple go by my name!' 'Amen', replied the deity; 'henceforth thou art not Baiju, but Baijnāth, and my temple shall be called by thy name.'" Romantically as this story has been narrated by the writer, it

is valueless for any historical inference. It cannot be more than 300 years old, and it is probably of a much more recent date. The tomb to the north of the road, in which the mortal remains of Baiju are said to be deposited, is not more than 200 years old; and the name itself is applied in the Purāṇas to the lingam of Siva in distant parts of India.

Some of the Purānas ascribe the advent of Baidyanāth at Deoghar to the Satya Yuga, or the first age of the world, when Satī, the wife of Siva and the daughter of Daksha, committed suicide in consequence of the discourtesy shown to her husband by Daksha. Overpowered by grief Siva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his trident and roamed about like a madman, till Vishnu cut up the body with his discus into 52 parts, which fell at different places in India. The heart, it is said, fell at Deoghar (Baidyanāth), and hence that place attained its sanctity. There is, however, no shrine or spot at Deoghar to commemorate this occurrence as at the other 51 places. Another legend is that in the first age of the world Siva manifested himself as lingams of light at 12 different places under different names, Baidyanāth being one of these 12 places. The emblem was worshipped by Satī, who appeared in the form of a pandanus flower on the top of the lingam and dwelt for a long time in a grove close by in order to worship it. Hence the place was called Ketakīvana or the pandanus grove.

The temple of Baidyanāth, which shelters the lingam and is dedicated to Mahādeva, stands in a stone-paved quadrangular courtyard. The east side faces the public road, and at the southern end is a large arched gateway surmounted by a *naubat-khāna.* The *naubat-khānā* is, however, not much used, a separate two-storied building having been provided close by for musicians. Near the north-east corner of the courtyard there is a large gateway, over which a room has been constructed by Rājā Padmānand Singh of Banaili. This is the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. At the north end of the courtyard is the private residence of the *Sardār Pāndā* or head priest, known as the *bhitar-khanda.* The temple, which faces the east, is a plain stone structure surmounted by a pyramidal tower which rises from a square base to a height of 72 feet from the ground. On the east side of the northern verandah of the temple is a masonry vat, into which flow the water and milk used for the ablutions of the lingam. This water is regarded as very sacred, and every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it and to carry some of it away in a phial. The lingam is of a cylindrical form, about 5 inches in diameter, and projects about 4 inches from the centre of a

large slab of basalt. As it is fixed firmly in this slab it is not possible to ascertain how much of the lingam is buried. The top is broken and has an even surface, one side being a little higher than the other. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Rāvana and by the Santāl legend to that of the forester Baiju. The cell which shelters the divine emblem is very dark, and upon entering it, after passing through the courtyard of the temple in the glare of the midday sun, the pilgrim can at first see nothing; two *ghī*-fed lamps are all that are provided to enable pilgrims to behold the manifestation of the god.

The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. The second porch has in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt, and on the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of Srījuta or "His Excellency." Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang down from the ceiling. Pilgrims entering by the front door are supposed to pull the bell-rope to announce their approach to the divinity, but in most cases the priests do this for them. The courtyard contains 11 other temples, smaller in size and of less importance than that of Baidyanāth. The following is a list of all the 12 temples and of their dedicators, with the years in which they were dedicated, as ascertained by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra:—

	Name.	Dedicator.		Date.
1.	Baidyanāth	Pūran Mal.		1596
2.	Lakshmī-Nārayān	Vāmadeva.	*circa*	1630-40
3.	Sāvitrī (Tārā)	Kshemakarna		1692
4.	Pārvatī	Ratnapāni.	*circa*	1701-10
5.	Kālī	Jayanārāyana.		1712
6.	Ganesa	Tikārāma.		1762
7.	Sūrjya	Rāma Datta.	*circa*	1782-93
8.	Saraswatī	do.		do.
9.	Rāmachandra	do.		do.
10.	Vagalā Devī	do.		do.
11.	Annapūrnā	do.		1782
12.	Ananda Bhairava	Commenced by Ananda Datta, completed by Sarvānanda.	*circa*	1810-23

The name of the temple last mentioned means the temple of Bhairava set up by Ananda, an ancestor of the present *Sardār*

pāndā. Besides the temples mentioned by Dr. Mitra, there is a shrine of Dudhnāth Mahādeva, which is presumably a later erection. It contained a silver *pānchmukhi* lingam, the gift of Sailajānada Ojhā, but the original lingam is said to have been stolen. The shrine of Manasā Devī, the snake goddess, in the south-western corner of the courtyard also appears to have been built since Dr. Mitra published his account of Deoghar. All the temples are comparatively modern and of little archæological interest, the only ancient remains being three Buddhist statues. One, a small Lokanātha, is worshipped as Kārtikeya and another as Sūrjya; while a Buddha serves as an image of Kāla Bhairava. Ancient, however, as these statues are, it would be obviously unwise to conclude that the place originally belonged to the Buddhists, as the images may have been brought here from some other place.

All the persons mentioned in the preceding list were high priests of the Baidyanāth temple with the exception of Pūran Mal, who was an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Gidhaur and one of the leading zamīndārs of Bihār during the reign of Akbar. An inscription on the Baidyanāth temple states that he built it at the request of Raghunāth, and tradition relates that the inscription was forcibly put up by Pūran Mal, after he had had the temple repaired, to mark his ownership of the surrounding land, which he had taken from its proprietors. The priest Raghunāth Ojhā was displeased with the inscription, but was unable to resist Pūran Mal. He therefore bided his time, and, when the chief was gone, had the porch erected and therein set up his own inscription. Legend states that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Baidyanāth, who revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch and set up an inscription; but he claims the credit of having erected the temple.

Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra is of opinion that there must have been a temple here at a very early date. "A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Purānas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering during the Hindu period after the downfall of Buddhism; some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple." He also disbelieves that the present temple replaced an old one. "That might at first sight appear probable; but the belief of the Hindus is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Siva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smritis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are

concerned; but in the case of lingams which are fixed to the earth the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecration of the lingam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot therefore, believe that Pūran Mal knocked down an old temple, and erected a new one in its place. No Hindu remaining Hindu, and claiming religious merit by the act, could have done such a thing. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Pūran Mal only the lobby, is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part of the temple, he claimed credit for the whole. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunātha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch, which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potentate can be explained by accepting the truth of this tradition."

One other inscription calls for notice. This is an inscription over the entrance of the temple of Baidyanāth, written in Bengali characters and purporting to be an extract of a Sanskrit work on the Mandara Hill in the Bhāgalpur district. It says that Adityasena with his queen, Koshadevī, who had come from the Chola country near Madura in Southern India, built a temple of Vishnu, and that one Balabhadra put up an image of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu. An inscription on the Mandara Hill shows that Konadevī was the actual name of Adityasena's queen, and she had a tank excavated there, which is still in existence; while the lines referring to the boar statue are engraved in characters of the seventh century A.D., which is also the date of Adityasena according to the hill inscription. The temple inscription therefore contains some historical facts, but, remarks Dr. Bloch, "the statement that Adityasena came from the Chola country can hardly be credited, as the names of his family, all ending in Gupta, connect him with the Imperial Gupta family. It has no connection with Baidyanāth, and it is not clear for what reason it was put up here."*

In front of the main entrance of the courtyard is a sacred well, called Chandrakūpa, which is held to be the repository of

* Report, Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle, for 1902-1903.

the holy water of all the sacred pools on earth and is said to have been excavated by Rāvana to save himself the trouble of bringing water for worship from the Himālayas. To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, is a more interesting monument—a masonry platform, about 6 feet in height and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock. Two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of two uprights like a horizontal beam. The uprights are 12 feet high and quadrilateral in form, each face being 1½ foot broad; while the cross piece is 13 feet long, and 1¾ foot broad on each side. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam, representing crocodiles' heads. These stones, according to Sir William Hunter, were formerly worshipped by the Santāls, but Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra has pointed out that they are a frame for swinging the image of Krishna during the Dol Jātrā (Holi) festival. "This gallows-like structure," he writes, "is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santāls, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santāls were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santālia, and indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, it would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temple, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows. In every part of India where the Krishna cultus has found access, such gallows are invariably seen in close proximity to ancient temples. Of course, where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind is regularly used at Bhubaneswar for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Purī there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted."

The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large tank or lake called Sivagangā, which measures about 900 feet by 600 feet. It forms part of a natural depression, the western portion of which has been cut off by an embankment, on the top of which runs a road. According to Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra: "This

embankment must have been put up by Mahārājā Mān Singh, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called Mānasarovara." This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected with the lake by a small rivulet, named Karmanāsā, which is said to be the spot where Rāvana eased himself: on account of this connection, the water of the lake is held to be impure.

The ritual of worship is simple enough, the *mantras* being few, and the offerings limited. Pouring water on the lingam, smearing it with sandal paste, and offering flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought into contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, *palkis*, gold ornaments and other valuables, and, sometimes, rent-free land in support of the daily worship. The title-deed in such cases is ordinarily a *bel* leaf, on which the donation is written and which is swept out in the evening. This simple deed, however, is faithfully respected. It is said that the god delights in water, *bel* leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuta (Tiur) hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well excavated by Rāvana is held sufficient; but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himālayas near Badrināth, or from the Mānasarovara lake in Tibet, is highly prized. Pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places, as well as from the Ganges near the Jahāngīrā rock; while the priests keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity.

The verandahs on the north, west and south of the temple are reserved for pilgrims who desire special blessings. Ordinarily men ask for the cure of diseases, and women for offspring or for the restoration of health to sick children. The ordinary pilgrim's round is as follows. The pilgrim bathes in the Sivagangā tank in the morning, worships the lingam, and then lies down on the bare pavement of the verandah till next morning. He or she then rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. These practices are continued for three days and three nights. During this period the pleasure of the divinity is generally

communicated in a dream to the pilgrim in such words as "Go away, you are cured," or "Go and do such and such things, and you will be cured," or "Your wish will be fulfilled within such and such a time." Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is so sinful as to be unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the pilgrim's fast sometimes continued for seven to nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting: but some deaths having taken place from starvation the priests do not now permit a fast to last more than three days.

Deoghar, "the home of the gods," is a modern name. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hārdapītha, Rāvana-vana, Ketakī-vana, Haritakī-vana and Vaidyanātha. In Bengal the place is generally known as Baidyanāth, but that name having been given to the adjoining station of the East Indian Railway and to the town that has grown up round it, the people, for the sake of distinction, have adopted the name of Deoghar. The sanctity of Baidyanāth is mentioned in several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries A.D. Authentic portions of the Purānas also refer to it, and as they are unquestionably anterior to the tenth century, Baidyanāth must even in their time have attained considerable celebrity. Coming to more modern times there is an interesting account of the pilgrimage to Baidyanāth in the *Khulāsatu-t-tawārikh** written between 1695 and 1699 A.D. It runs: "In the district of Monghyr on the skirts of the hill, there is a place named the Jhārkhand of Baijnāth (Baidyanāth) sacred to Mahādeva. Here a miraculous manifestation puzzles those who behold only the outside of things. That is to say, in this temple there is a *pīpal* tree, of which nobody knows the origin. If any one of the attendants of the temple is in need of the money necessary for his expenses, he abstains from food and drink, sits under the tree, and offers prayers to Mahādeva for the fulfilment of his desire. After two or three days the tree puts forth a leaf covered with lines in the Hindī character, written by an invisible pen, and containing an order on a certain inhabitant of any of the parts of the world for the payment of a certain sum to the person who had prayed for it. Although his residence may be 500 leagues from Baidyanāth, the names of that man and his children, wife, father and grandfather, his quarter, country, home and other correct details about him are known from the writing on the leaf. The high priest, writing agreeably to it on a separate piece of paper, gives [it to that attendant of the

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* Jadunath Sarkār, *India of Aurangzeb*, 1901.

temple]. This is called the *hundi* (cheque) of Baijnāth. The suppliant, having taken this cheque, goes to the place named on it, according to the directions contained in it. The man upon whom the cheque has been drawn pays the money without attempting evasion or guile. A Brāhman once brought a *hundi* of Baijnāth to the very writer of this book, and he, knowing it to be a bringer of good fortune, paid the money and satisfied the Brāhman. More wonderful than this is a cave at this holy place. The high priest enters into the cave once a year, on the day of the Siva-brata, and having brought some earth out of it, gives a little to each of the ministers of the temple. Through the power of the Truly Powerful, this earth becomes turned into gold, in proportion to the degree of merit of each man."

Under the Muhammadan Government the chief priest appears to have paid a fixed rent to the Rājās of Bīrbhūm, and the administration of the temple seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the priests. When the British rule began, it was decided to take over the management of the temple, and with this object an establishment of priests, collectors and watchmen was organized in 1787 at Government expense. The revenue soon fell off, as the chief priest beset the avenues to the temples with emissaries, who induced the pilgrims to make their offerings before approaching the shrine. The result was that, though there were 50,000 pilgrims in 1789, the receipts only amounted to Rs. 4,084. Next year the Collector of Bīrbhūm, Mr. Keating, appointed an establishment of 120 armed policemen with 15 officers in order to improve the collections, with the result that they increased to Rs. 8,463. He himself visited Deoghar in 1791 in order to superintend the collections personally and stop the peculations of the police. His report gives an interesting account of the difficulties under which the pilgrims laboured at that time. "Of wealth among any of them there was no appearance. No more than five families had any conveyance or hired house to reside in. About a hundred had simply a blanket drawn over a bamboo as a protection from the weather; and the rest—varying from fifteen to fifty thousand, according to the season—took up their abode under the adjacent trees, with no kind of conveniency whatever. There was too general an appearance of poverty to suppose that the temple could profit much from the oblations of its devotees, and little could be expected from wretches who seemed in want of every necessary of life."*

In 1791 Government relinquished its claim to a share of the offerings, and entrusted the management of the shrine to the

* *Annals of Rural Bengal*, page 281.

Ojhā, or head priest, on his executing an agreement to keep the temples in repair and to perform all the usual ceremonies. He was also bound on pain of dismissal to keep order and not exact offerings from the pilgrims. The post of *Ojhā* was held to be hereditary, but the appointment was made by Government and the priest was to be over 40 years of age. According to Mr. Keating, the income of the temple in 1791 consisted of the offerings and of the proceeds of 32 villages and 108 *bighās* of land, which he estimated at Rs. 2,000 a year; some years later we find the total income estimated at Rs. 25,000 a year. Under this system the mismanagement of the temple was a source of constant complaint. The temple and *ghāts* were frequently out of repair, and the *Ojhā* was charged with alienating villages from the temple and treating "his situation as a means of enriching himself and his family." On his death in 1820, a dispute over the succession arose between an uncle and his nephew, and the Collector, in his position as Local Agent, had to go to Deoghar to hold an enquiry. The nephew Nityānand was eventually appointed, but neglected to carry out the terms of his appointment, for it was soon reported that the "whole place and environs were a scene of dirt and stench," and only a quarter of the income (estimated at Rs. 1,50,000 annually) was spent on the temple. Finally, Nityānand was charged with malversation of the funds, and the uncle, Sarbānand, was in 1823 appointed *Ojhā* in his stead, a yearly provision being made for his nephew. On the death of this priest in 1837 the property was attached till a successor could be appointed by Government after taking the opinion of Brāhmans.* Since then disputes between the high priest and the *pāndās* regarding the control of the temple have been frequent, and in the course of recent litigation, which had its origin in these strained relations, a high priest was dismissed from his office.

About 300 families of *pāndās*, who belong to a branch of Maithil Brāhmans, are attached to the temple, and earn a livelihood by assisting pilgrims in performing the various ceremonies connected with the worship of the god. They have their own chief, who is designated the *Sardār Pāndā* or high priest, and of recent years this office has vested in members of one family. In accordance with a recent decree of the courts, the administration of the temple is now vested in a council of trustees, which includes the high priest and other *pāndās* as well as laymen.

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* Sir W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 278-85. E. G. Drake-Brockman, *Notes on the Early Administration of Birbhum* (1898), pp. 32-33.

Deoghar Subdivision.—A subdivision in the south-west of the district lying between 24° 3′ and 24° 38′ N. and between 86° 28′ and 87°4′E., with an area of 952 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Bhāgalpur and Monghyr districts; on the south by the Jāmtārā subdivision; on the west by the Monghyr and Hazāribāgh districts; and on the east by the Dumkā and Goddā subdivisions of this district. The subdivision contains several clusters of rocky hills covered with jungle, but its general aspect is that of a rolling series of long ridges with intervening depressions. Most of these rolling uplands have been denuded of the forest with which they were once covered, and are cultivated with highland crops, while the depressions, which are exceedingly fertile, yield winter rice. The population of the subdivision was 297,403 in 1901 as against 284,115 in 1891, its density being 312 persons to the square mile. It contains 2,368 villages and two towns, viz., Deoghar, its headquarters, and Madhupur.

Dumkā (or Nayā Dumkā).—*Headquarters of the district*, situated in 24° 16′ N., and 87° 15′ E. Dumkā is one of the oldest British stations in Bengal, being shown on the map of 1769 as "Duncaw," a fact which lends colour to the idea that the original name was Dumkoh, *koh* being a common termination to names of villages in the Santāl Parganas. It was then a *ghātwāli* police post in the Bīrbhūm jurisdiction, but in 1795 was transferred to Bhāgalpur and made the site of one of the four Kohisthāni police thānas for the regulation of the Rājmahāl Hills. The name frequently occurs in the old correspondence as Dumkah or Doomka till 1855, when the station was first called Nayā Dumkā, in contradistinction to the old village of Dumka (Purāna Dumka), by the officer commanding a detachment of troops stationed here during the Santāl rebellion. It is only occasionally called Nayā Dumkā, except in official reports. In 1855 Dumkā was made the headquarters of the Santāl Parganas district, but soon afterwards the headquarters were removed and it was left as the headquarters of the Dumkā sub-district only. In 1872 the sub-districts of the Santhāl Parganas were constituted sub-divisions, and Dumkā again became the headquarters of the whole district.

Situated on rising ground, which slopes down to the river Mor, and with a far-flung girdle of hills in the background, Dumka is one of the most picturesque stations in Bengal. It contains a pretty creeper-clad English church, close to which is a small lake called Phutta Bāndh. On a mound in the lake, which is connected with the tank by a small bridge, is a stone pillar erected in honour of Dr. Kelly, formerly Civil Surgeon, who had

the lake excavated. The town, which forms part of the property of Mr. Maling Grant, had a population of 5,326 persons in 1901 and was constituted a municipality in 1903. It is somewhat difficult of access, being 38¾ miles from the Rāmpur Hāt station on the Loop Line, and 41½ miles from Deoghar; travellers usually do the journey from Rāmpur Hāt in *thika gāris*, for which previous arrangement has to be made, as they have to be brought in from Dumkā.

Dumkā Subdivision.—Central subdivision of the district lying between 23° 59′ and 24° 39′ N. and between 86° 54′ and 87°42′E., with an area of 1,429 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Goddā and Pākaur subdivisions of this district and by the Bānkā subdivision of the Bhāgalpur district; on the south by the Jāmtārā subdivision and the district of Birbhūm; on the east by the Rāmpur Hāt subdivision of the latter district and the Pākaur subdivision of this district; and on the west by the Deoghar and Jāmtārā subdivisions. The subdivision consists for the greater part of rolling open country with long ridges and intervening depressions, but a large area is occupied by hills and forests in the north, where part of the subdivision is included in the Dāmin-i-koh. There are two principal ranges, running south from the Pākaur and Goddā subdivisions, which enter this subdivision close to the Silingi bungalow in the extreme north of the Dumkā Dāmin. They run parallel to each other and, passing through the Dāmin, terminate in the Nāngalbhāngā hill, over which the Rāmpur Hāt road is carried. To the south-east is another extensive range known as the Rāmgarh Hills, situated in *tāluks* Darin Mauleswar and Sulunga. The scenery in these hills, and especially near the Narganj, Silingi and Karcho bungalows, is very picturesque, hill after hill stretching away in the distance covered with dense jungle, while far down in the valleys are seen terraced rice fields green with paddy. The population of the subdivision in 1901 was 416,681, representing a density of 292 persons to the square mile. The population is contained in 2,105 villages, the headquarters station being Dumkā.

Goddā.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated 49 miles north of Dumkā. The town has a population of 2,208 persons and contains the public offices usually found at subdivisional headquarters, but otherwise is of no special interest. It is somewhat difficult of access, the nearest railway station being Ghoghā on the Loop Line, 31 miles to the north.

Godda Subdivision.—North-western subdivision of the district, lying between 24°30′ and 25°14′N. and between 87° 3′ and 87° 36′ E., with an area of 967 square miles. It is bounded

on the north by the Bhāgalpur district and a small portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision; on the east by the Dāmin-i-koh portion of the Rājmahāl and Pākaur subdivisions; on the south by *pargana* Handwe in the Dumkā subdivision; and on the west by the Bhāgalpur district. Its length from north to south is over 50 miles, and its breadth varies from 12 to 24 miles. The east of the subdivision, along the skirts of the Rājmahāl Hills, is included in the Dāmin-i-koh and consists of hilly country, with forests in the southern half. The western portion of the subdivision, comprising the zamīndāri tract, is different in character. *Tappa* Manihāri to the north is a fertile alluvial plain very similar to the adjacent level country in the Bhāgalpur district. Next to it comes *tappa* Pātsundā, an upland tract sloping downwards towards the west. Towards the south in *parganas* Passai, Goddā and Barkop the country is undulating.

The rivers of the subdivision, which rise for the most part in the uplands to the east, receive the drainage of the western slope of the hills, and flow generally in a westerly direction into the Girua, which flows northwards to the Ganges close to the western boundary of the subdivision. In the Manihāri plain there are two streams, the Koa and Bhorai, which have scoured out deep channels in the alluvial soil. *Tappa* Pātsundā is separated from *pargana* Barkop on the south by the Sundar river, which rises in the hills of Telo Bungalow. South of the Sundar there are three streams, the Sapin, Bheriya and Harna, the two latter flowing through *pargana* Goddā. The largest stream of the subdivision is the Kājrā, which rises in the highlands of Belbathān and Passai, and is fed by five separate streams. It flows past the town of Goddā, where it has a considerable width. The Lilji flows through *parganas* Amlamatia and Goddā, and joins the Chir river above Panjwāra. The latter stream is also joined by the Poreya and Sugathan, which flow westward through *pargana* Passai.

The chief hills of the subdivision are in the Dāmin-i-koh and belong to the Rājmahāl range, of which there are a few outliers. In the west of Passai there is a small range which continues westward into the Bhāgalpur district; in Barkop there is a cluster of small hills of black rock, and an isolated hill at Bisaha; while other detached hills of black rock are found in Pātsundā and Manihāri.

The subdivision contains 1,274 villages, and its population in 1901 was 390,223, the density being 404 persons to the square mile. To the east, in the Dāmin-i-koh, the country is sparsely inhabited, but the Mahāgāma and Goddā thānas to the east form one of the most fertile and densely populated tracts in the district.

Handwe.—A *pargana* in the north of the Dumkā subdivision. The *pargana* appears to have been originally a *ghātwāli* subordinate to the Kharagpur Rāj in Monghyr and was held by a Khetauri family, the head of which, Subhān Singh, was in 1792 recognized by Captain Browne as *istimrāri mukararidār* of the estate under Kharagpur, the rent fixed being Rs. 2,171. In Buchanan Hamilton's time the greater portion of it was held by Subhān Singh's descendant, one Jhabban Singh. Of the 22 *tāluks* included in the *pargana*, 13 belong to the descendants of Jhabban Singh and are known as the Handwe Rāj; 2 small *tāluks*, Beldaha and Eksingha, are held by *mukararidārs*; 4 *tāluks*, viz., Jhopa, Karma, Saharamahra and Kamardiha, are in the *khās* posssession of the Banaili Rāj, which has taken the place of the Kharagpur Rāj; two, viz., Kherwa and Belgāma, are held by the descendants of the original *ghātwāls*; while the last, Kesri, till recently belonged to a Khetauri, but was purchased in 1902 at an auction sale by his creditors. The Handwe Raj is now held by Rānī Keshabatī Kumārī, who has adopted Kumār Sat Nārāyan Singh as her heir and has a life interest in the estate. Its headquarters are at Nuni Hāt, four miles from which, under the Lagwa hill, is the ancestral home of the Khetauri proprietors. The income of the estate is about Rs. 1,25,000, but it is heavily indebted and has therefore been taken under the management of the Court of Wards.

Jāmtārā.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway. It is merely a village, with a population of 278 persons, containing the public offices usually found at a subdivisional headquarters.

Jāmtārā Subdivision.—Southern subdivision of the district, lying between 23° 48′ and 24° 10′ N. and between 86° 30′ and 87° 18′ E., with an area of 698 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Dumkā and Deoghar subdivisions of this district; on the east by the district of Bīrbhūm and the Dumkā subdivision; on the south by the districts of Mānbhūm, Burdwān and Bīrbhūm; and on the west by the district of Hazāribāgh. The subdivision, which is bounded on the south by the Barākar and is intersected by the Ajay river, is a rolling upland country with long ridges and intervening depressions. It is traversed by the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway and contains three stations at Mihijām, Jāmtārā and Karmatārh. The population of the subdivision was 189,799 in 1901, as compared with 173,726 in 1891, the density being 272 persons to the square mile. It contains 1,073 villages, and is divided into the following *tāluks*—Afzalpur, Ambā, Amjorā, Amlājori, Asnā, Bābupur, Bāgdahuri, Bhāngāhir,

Bharchandi, Chaukhanda, Dhādika, Dhāsunia, Geriā, Ghāti, Jālāin, Jāmjuri, Jāmkānāli, Kājrā, Kātnā, Kenduākāstā, Khājuri, Kundahit, Māndhāra, Māro, Nāgrī, Nālā, Nārāyanpur, Pabbiā, Pākuriā, Pālājuri, Pindāri, Satki, Sihārketiā, Sundarpur and Taro.

Jungleterry.—A district which was in existence from 1772 to 1780. It included almost the whole of the present Santāl Parganas and also a large tract to the west and north-west, which now forms part of the Hazāribāgh, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur districts, viz., Kharakdihā in Hazāribāgh, South Gidhaur in Monghyr and South Kharagpur in Bhāgalpur. The only portions of the Santāl Parganas as now constituted which did not form part of the Jungleterry are the Jāmtārā subdivision and the alluvial portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision between the Ganges and the Rājmahāl Hills. The name is a corruption of *Jangal Tarai.*

Kānkjol.—A *pargana* in the south of the Rājmahāl subdivision. It is mentioned in Todar Mal's rent-roll as a *mahāl* in *Sarkār* Audamber or Tandāh, and there is also a *pargana* of the same name north of the Ganges in the Purnea district. General Cunningham is of opinion that the name is derived from Kānkjol, a village 16 miles south of Rājmahāl. "Kānkjol is an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmahāl, and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank. Even at the present day this tract is still recorded as belonging to Kānkjol; and I was, therefore, not surprised to hear the zamīndārs of Ināyatpur and the surrounding villages to the east of the Ganges say that their lands were in Kānkjol. The simple explanation is that the Ganges has changed its course. At the time of the Muhammadan occupation it flowed under the walls of Gaur in the channel of the present Bhāgīrathī river. Part of the trans-Gangetic Kānkjol is in the Puraniyā district bounded by Akbarpur, and part in the Mālda district bounded by Mālda proper."*

Kuarpal.—A *tappa* situated partly in the Goddā and partly in the Pākaur subdivision. It stretches across the Dāmin-i-koh and is the largest hill division in the estate. The name, which is also spelt Kumārpal or Kunwarpal, means the hills of the Kumārs or princes, and is the northernmost tract inhabited by the Māl Pahārias.

Madhupur.—A town in the Deoghar subdivision, situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, 183 miles from Howrah. Population (1901) 6,840. The town is 820 feet above

* Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., XV, p. 37.

sea-level and has a growing reputation as a health resort among the Bengali community. A number of new houses have consequently been built in recent years by residents of Calcutta and other places. It is a growing town with a considerable number of European railway employés and an increasing population of Bengali gentlemen who have country residences here. It has recently been constituted a municipality; and there is a junction here for a branch line to Giridih.

Mahuāgarhi.—A hill in the south of the Rājmahāl Hills with a height of about 1,500 feet. On the summit is a Pahāria village called Pokharia after a ruined stone tank, which is still pointed out. It also contains the remains of a stone fort attributed to one Kushial Singh, a Rājput Rājā, who placed himself at the head of the Pahārias and was slain in a battle against the Rājās of Handwe at a spot beneath the hill, the name of which, Rājāmārā, commemorates his death.

Manihāri Tappa.—A *tappa* in the north of the Goddā subdivision. It was formerly held by a family of Khetauris, of whom Buchanan Hamilton has given the following account. A Nat Rājā called Dariyār Singh was chief of the northern hillmen and lived in the Manjhwe valley, where he built and occupied a fort called Lakragarh. A Khetauri called Kalyān entered his service, and Kalyān's son Rupkaran became commandant of the fort. In 1600 A. D. Mān Singh was sent by Akbar to settle the affairs of Bengal, and was opposed by a chief called Subhān Singh. The Nat Rājā favoured Subhān, but Rupkaran, deserting his master, expelled him from the fort and helped Mān Singh to force the defiles. "He then advanced with Mān Singh to Bengal, and his family entirely attribute to his prowess the overthrow of Subhān. It would appear, indeed, that he rendered essential service, as his rewards were considerable. In the first place he obtained in *mansab jāgīr*, free of rent and in perpetuity, five *parganas*, viz., Dursaraf in Puraniyā (Purnea), Yamuni (Jamuni) and Akbarnagar in Rājmahāl, and Manjhuya (Manjhwe) and Kangyiyala (Kanjiāla) comprising the valley included by the hills of the mountaineers. Besides this he procured, as a zamīndāri *tappa*, Manihāri, a part of the Bhāgalpur *pargana*. Mān Singh conferred the title of Rājā on his favourite, who enjoyed these estates until the Fasli year 1015 (A. D. 1608)." When Buchanan Hamilton wrote his account, a descendant of Rupkaran named Rājā Gajrāj Singh, son of Sujan Singh, held the estate.

A local tradition communicated by the Deputy Commissioner agrees more or less with this account. It runs as follows :—The

tappa was formerly held by seven Nat brothers, who lived at seven different places, but Majmai (in the Dāmin-i-koh near Burio Hāt) was their capital, at which they met during the Durgā Pūjā festivals. They were overthrown by a Khetauri named Rupkaran Singh, the son of Kalyān Singh, who was marked for future greatness by a miraculous occurrence, for one day, while he was reposing under the shade of a tree, he fell asleep, and a serpent sheltered him from the sun by spreading its hood over him like an umbrella. Rupkaran entered into a conspiracy to kill the Nat Rājās, to whom the Khetauris used to supply fuel at the time of the Pūjās. During one of these festivals, when the Nat brothers were intoxicated, he and his fellows rose up against them, and having killed them established the Khetauri Rāj. Rupkaran Singh reigned from 1008 to 1015 (F), and one of his descendants received the title of Rājā and *tappas* Jamuni and Chitaulia as *jāgīr* from the Emperor of Delhi between 1067 and 1075 (F). The next Rājā, Kishori Singh, having become a convert to Islām and married a member of the family of Shāh Shujā, Viceroy of Bengal, obtained several more *jāgīrs*, but his nephews, Harichānd Singh and others, enraged at his apostasy, assassinated him. His burial place at Majmai used to be looked upon as a holy place, and even now his descendants offer sweetmeats there in his name. Coming to later times, the raids of the Pahārias forced Rājā Sujan Singh to grant *jāgīrs* in order to prevent their incursions, and in this way 36,000 *bighās* were assigned to *jāgīrdārs*. During his time (1163 to 1187 F.) a fire broke out in Majmai, and the residence of the Rājās was burnt down.

The subsequent history of the family may be briefly told. In 1792 A. D., during the time of Gajrāj Singh, *tappa* Manihāri was permanently settled at a *jamā* of Rs. 8,192. Gajrāj Singh became insane and his property was managed by the Court of Wards from 1804 till his death in 1833, when he was succeeded by his two sons, Rājā Bhāgwān Singh and Kumār Chandan Singh. In 1836 suits were brought by Government for the resumption of the *mansab jāgīr* and of the Manihāri *ghātwāli jāgīr*; and a decree was given in favour of Government in 1838. In that year the zamīndāri of Manihāri was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased for Rs. 15,500 by Babu Ananda Nārāyan Ghose (son of the *dīwān* of Lady Hastings) of Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta, whose family are still in possession. The last proprietor was Heramba Chandra Ghose, grandson of Ananda Nārāyan, who died in 1907 without issue and was succeeded by his widow, Srīmatī Paritoshinī Dāsī.

Between 1836 and 1841 Chandan Singh was convicted of murder and was sentenced to imprisonment for life; while Bhagwān Singh developed insanity and his property was managed by his wife Rānī Dularbatī till 1840, when Mr. Pontet, on the strength of the resumption decree, took possession of the inner valleys of the Rājmahāl Dāmin. The Manihāri *jāgīr* and those portions of the *mansab jāgīr* which lay outside the Dāmin-i-koh were settled after resumption with the Manihāri family or their successors in interest. Between 1838 and her death in 1888 Rānī Dularbatī, who was in receipt of a pension from Government, gradually parted with all the family property.

Recently, during the resettlement operations, Nahal Singh and Sib Nārāyan Singh, descendants of Mahtab Singh, a brother of Rājā Gajrāj Singh, aided by certain pleaders of Bhāgalpur to whom they had transferred a nine-annas interest in their rights, brought numerous suits, as reversionary heirs of Rānī Dularbatī, against the present owners of the resumed *jāgīr* villages, claiming restitution on the ground that the Rānī could not alienate more than her life interest in the estate. The suits were mostly withdrawn on compromise. In 1900 a suit was brought against Government by Nahal Singh, Sib Nārāyan Singh and three pleaders of Bhāgalpur for the restoration of the inner valleys in the northern half of the Dāmin i-koh, *i.e.*, *pargana* Bara Kanjiāli, *tappa* Payer and Haveli Manjhwe. The suit was eventually compromised, Government agreeing to give the two descendants of the Manihāri Rājās a fixed hereditary pension of Rs. 50 a month and to pay a lump sum of Rs. 20,000 to the other three plaintiffs, in return for which they abandoned their claims.

Tappa Manihāri now comprises two portions, viz., *māl* and *jāgīrdāri* villages. The latter account for one-third of the area and are held by a number of different persons; while the former are the property of the Ghose family of Pāthuriāghātā. The *tappa* is divided into eight subdivisions called *divis*, viz., Gobindpur, Bājitpur, Doe, Madhura, Chanda, Dumariā, Phulbāriā and Chaijora. It contains a few places of interest. In Gobindpur there is a village now called Kasbā, and formerly Manihāri, from which the *tappa* has taken its name. It contains several large tanks, at present silted up, from the beds of which, as well as from other places in the village, images carved in stone and other architectural remains have been obtained. Bricks of large dimensions are also found as well as engraved slabs of black stone. Māngarh, a *mauza* contiguous to Kasbā, is associated with the memory of Akbar's general Mān Singh. The story current among the people of the place is that when Mān Singh came to

conquer Bengal he encamped at Manihāri and built a fort, which was called Māngarh after him. Legend also relates that his son Jagat Singh, married the daughter of Birendra Singh, the chieftain of the *tappa*, without his father's permission. Bikram Kita is said to have been the capital of Birendra Singh, and there are still remains of a fortress there called Bimligarh after Bimalā, his wife and the step-mother of Jagat Singh's bride. Close by are two images carved out of the rock, which, it has been suggested, may be images of Buddha. The people believe that every one passing by these images should throw stones at them, otherwise evil will befall upon them. On a hillock called Mahā-Pahāria in the north-east of the *tappa* there are remains of a stone fortress.

Muhammadābād.—A *pargana* in the south of the Dumkā subdivision with an area of 133½ square miles. It was formerly held by the Rājās of Nagar in Bīrbhūm, but in 1851 was purchased at a Civil Court sale by Madhusudan Mukherji of Kenduliā, who sold the property eight years later to Babu Krishna Chandra Chakravarti, father of Rājā Rām Ranjan Chakravarti Bahādur of Hetampur, the present zamīndār. The *pargana* is separated from the rest of the Dumkā subdivision by the Lakhanpur Hills on the north-west and the Rāmgarh Hills on the north-east. The river Mor cuts through a narrow gorge between these two ranges and runs for about 10 miles through the *pargana* before passing into the Bīrbhūm district.

Nayā Dumkā—See Dumkā.

Pākaur.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated on the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Population (1901) 1,519. It contains the usual public offices found at a subdivisional headquarters and has no buildings of any interest except a Martello tower, 30 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, which was built in 1856 for the protection of the railway officers and their bungalows. It is loop-holed for musketry and has room on the top for one or two light guns. This tower afforded protection to the railway officers and some officers of a sepoy regiment when a company of mutineers passed through the place in 1857. From the top of it there is a fine view of the Rājmahāl Hills, and Jangipur 15 miles to the east is also visible. During the Santāl rebellion the town was destroyed by the Santāls, who, to the number of 8,000, armed with bows, arrows and battle-axes, plundered and burnt the bungalows, sacked the Rānī's palace and overran the town, murdering many of its inhabitants.

Pākaur Subdivision.—Subdivision in the north-west of the district lying between 24° 14′ and 24° 49′ N. and between 87° 23′

and 87° 53′ E., with an area of 863 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Rājmahāl subdivision, from which it is separated for a distance of 20 miles by a long chain of hills extending from the river Gumāni. The district of Murshidābād adjoins it on the east and south, and another range of hills separates it from the Dumkā Dāmin on the west. The subdivision contains three distinct tracts viz., (1) a portion of the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate, (2) the zamīndāri portion of *pargana* Ambar, and (3) *pargana* Sultānābād. The first occupies the north-western corner of the subdivision and has an area of 285 square miles. The zamīndāri portion of Ambar lies on the east and *pargana* Sultānābād on the south, the combined area of these zamīndāri tracts being 398 square miles. The greater part of the Dāmin-i-koh is a hilly tract populated by aborigines, who live upon forest produce and such crops as can be grown on the hills; whereas the zamīndāri tracts are mostly inhabited by Muhammadans and Hindus. *Pargana* Ambar is a level rice plain studded with hills here and there, in which conditions are the same in Sultānābād except for a strip of about 4 miles adjoining the Dumkā Dāmin, where the country is rocky. The principal rivers are the Bānsloi, Brāhmanī, Pāglā, Torai and Gumāni. The Bānsloi and Brāhmani, which are used extensively for irrigation, are the largest rivers in the subdivision, each having an average breadth of about 200 feet. Both flow through the Sultānābad *pargana*, and so does the Paglā or "mad river," a stream notorious for its violence. The Torai is a narrow river in *pargana* Ambar of some importance on account of its fisheries, and the Gumāni is a hilly stream in the Dāmin-i-koh running along the boundary between this and the Goddā subdivision. The population of the subdivision was 238,648 in 1901, the density being 349 persons to the square mile.

Pātsundā.—A *tappa* in the Goddā subdivision, bounded on the north by Manihārī and on the south by Barkop. As related in the article on Barkop, Pātsundā originally formed one estate with Barkop under a Khetauri family, but was separated from it. Up to 1903 it was held by a descendant of Deb Barm, the founder of the Khetauri family, but it was sold in January 1904 for debt and purchased by some *mahājans* of Bhāgalpur.

Rājmahāl.—Head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name situated in the north-east of the district on the right bank of the Ganges. Population (1901) 2,047. Once the capital of the Viceroys of Bengal, the town is now a collection of mud huts interspersed with a few respectable houses and some ruins of nobler edifices. The remains of the old Muhammadan city, buried in

rank jungle, extend for about 4 miles to the west of the modern town, but most of the buildings have fallen into ruins or have been destroyed in order to provide ballast for the railway. The following account of the remains still extant has been prepared from a note contributed by the Subdivisional Officer.

On the east of the Sub-Registry Office are the ruins of a temple of Siva, and on the west is an old and large well, which the Railway Company used for pumping water for their engines. It is said that when Shāh Shujā was defeated the ladies of his zanāna threw into this well whatever jewellery they had. West of the well is a building known as the Holil, the upper part of which is modern, being built by the Railway Company, but the lower part consists of old arched halls and rooms in good preservation. The ruins of a building known as the Hammān or bath are found on the west of this building; imbedded in the walls of its rooms are the remains of pipes, which were used to convey water from a big well a short distance to the north. West of this stands the *cutcherry* building, the verandahs on both sides of which were built by the Railway Company. The interior walls, with the exception of a few partition walls also built by the Company, are old and unusually thick. Below this building are underground rooms which were closed up by the Railway Company. On the west of the *cutcherry* building is the old cemetery. There are 11 tombs in it, of which three have inscriptions dating back to 1847, 1848 and 1859.

On the west of the cemetery is the Sangdalān or marble hall, said to have been built by Mān Singh and popularly known as Mān Singh's Sangdalān. At present it consists of three rooms, of which the centre one has an arched roof supported by six stone pillars, all finely polished. Some beams projecting on the river side point to the existence of underground rooms. This building is in the occupation of the Railway Company and is used as a godown. About 50 yards from the Sangdalān is an old mosque in good preservation, also belonging to the Railway Company, which has made it over for use as a charitable dispensary. It is said that it was built in two months to enable the Emperor Akbar to perform his worship when he visited Rājmahāl in connection with the building of the Jāma Masjid described later.

On the east of the road leading south from the southern bazar is another mosque still used by the local Muhammadans. On the west of this road is the tomb of Mainā Bibi and also a tank known as Mainā *Talāo*. The tomb is a picturesque one and is carved inside, but is overgrown with jungle. The tank is about 90 feet square, with *pakkā* masonry work and *ghāts* on each side; it is full of

weeds and dries up in the hot weather. Both the tank and the tomb belong to the Nawāb Bahādur of Murshidābād. About 300 yards to the south is the cemetery now in use, on the east of which is a fine mosque in ruins belonging to Panchan Khān of Kotwāli Mālda: there is a tank with a *pakkā ghāt* to the east of it. On the west of the cemetery is the *jhil* known as Anant Sarobar or Anna Sarobar About 20 years ago the *jhil* used to have water in it all the year round, but since then it has been drained by Government In this *jhil* there are the ruins of a structure said to have been built as a pavilion from which spectators could watch the regattas held in the lake in the time of Shāh Shujā. On the southern outskirts of the *jhil*, about 200 yards south-west of the cemetery, are the ruins of the Phulbāri and the zanāna buildings of Shāh Shujā. The floor of these buildings is visible in some places, and there are underground rooms with pipes in them, by which water was brought from a reservoir connected with the lake. A portion of a bridge about 6 feet high is still standing: it probably extended across the *jhil*, as another portion may be seen a considerable distance to the west. On the south-west of these ruins the *jhil* stretches towards Udhuā Nullah: opposite the Phulbāri it is flanked by a thick parapet wall. On the south of this wall is a piece of high land containing an Idgāh, where the Muhammadans congregate during the Bakr Id. About 2 miles south-east of the Idgah is the Nāgeswar Bāgh, in which the only remains of a garden are a few mango trees and two wells, which supply excellent drinking water to the people of the locality.

About 600 yards west of the mosque where the charitable dispensary is located is Mr. Hennessy's bungalow, an old building with a thick parapet wall towards the river. This wall extended about 2 miles to the west as far as Jagat Seth's house in Nawāb Deori, but it is now broken owing to its bricks having been removed for building purposes. The bungalow compound contains a building known as the Bāradwāri from the fact that it has 12 doorways (three on each side); in the middle is an arched room where *darbārs* used to be held. It is said that this building belonged to Fateh Jang Khān, a rich Muhammadan zamindār. According to local tradition, he incurred the displeasure of Mān Singh for having sent word to Akbar that Mān Singh was building a palace for himself when the foundations of what is now the Jāma Masjid were being laid. On this account, it is said, Mān Singh had his house blown up with gunpowder. This story finds some corroboration from the state of the ruins of the buttresses and a portion of the parapet wall on the north.

About half a mile west of the Rājmahāl bazar and on the south of the Bhāgalpur road is the tomb of Mīrān, son of Mir Jāfar Khān, Nawāb of Bengal (see Chapter II). The tomb, which stands in a mango garden with walls on three sides, is made of brick and is unassuming in appearance; on the north towards the road are the ruins of buildings probably intended for the accommodation of visitors. The Jāfarganj Nawāb, a descendant of Mir Jāfar, is in charge of the tomb. About 400 yards west of it, and on the north of the Bhāgalpur road, are the ruins of a building known as the Pathargarh or stone house. It had a hall in the middle with two storied rooms on each side; up to a height of about 6 feet the wall was made of stone and above that of polished bricks; the doorways were all of stone. This building has recently been demolished, and only the bare walls are left. Some say it was formerly a mint where Jagat Seth, the banker and financier of Murshidābād, used to coin money; but others simply say that it belonged to a rich merchant. West of this is an old temple of Siva at a place known as Mahādebthān, and three *samādhis* or tombs of Vaishnava *Sādhus*. At Nawāb Deori west of this temple is the site on which Jagat Seth's palace stood. Ten years ago there were two structures here known as the *naubat-khānā*, but now nothing remains except a parapet wall. About 400 yards to the west were the houses of the Nawāb family of Murshidābād and a fine Imāmbārā, which was in existence till about 20 years ago. Close by there are two mosques, one of which, known as Raushan Masjid, is in fairly good preservation.

About two miles west of Nawāb Deori and south of the Bhāgalpur road is the Jama Masjid erected by Mān Singh, which is one of the oldest buildings in Rājmahāl. This mosque, a fine specimen of the Mughal style, is situated on a small eminence called Hādaf, about 4 miles west of the railway station; the name Hādaf is an Arabic word meaning a hill or archery butts. One legend relates that Mān Singh originally intended the building to be a palace for himself, and that when Fateh Khān informed the Emperor Akbar he converted it into a mosque. Another tradition is that Mān Singh intended it to be a Hindu temple but converted it into a mosque in order to avert the anger of the Emperor, to whom it had been reported that he was profaning the town by erecting a temple for idolatrous worship. The northern part of the building has now fallen down, but the mosque is magnificent even in ruin. On the west of it is a temple of Siva said to have been built by Mān Singh, and opposite it on the north of the Bhāgalpur road are the ruins of a building known as the Bāradwāri, in which there are some stone pillars

still standing. Between the Jama Masjid and the Bāradwāri are the remains of a gateway; and it is said that there was a subterranean passage leading from the courtyard of the Masjid to the Sangdalān at Rājmahāl. About one mile south-east of the Jama Masjid, at a place known as Kitghar situated on the western outskirts of the Anna Sarobar, there is a well about 30 feet in diameter known as Mān Singh's well. Half a mile south of the Jama Masjid is a Muhammadan cemetery which appears to have been used by the Muhammadan gentry living here; some of the tombs are of stone and contain carvings and inscriptions.

About 800 yards north-west of the Jāma Masjid may be seen an old Muhammadan bridge, 236 feet in length with six pointed arches of 10 feet span, built on five piers and having four round bastions, one at each corner. It is on the road to Sāhibganj, and is said to be contemporaneous with the Jāma Masjid. About half a mile to the north of the bridge is a rock called Pīrpahār, because there is the tomb of a *Pīr* or Muhammadan saint on the top of it. On a hillock to the west of it is a place sacred to the Hindus, called Kānāithān. Its sanctity is due to the fact that Krishna is said to have danced here. It is a place of pilgrimage visited by pilgrims returning from the *melā* of Rāmkelī at Mālda.

Rājmahāl Subdivision.—North-eastern subdivision of the district lying between 24° 43′ and 25° 18′ N. and between 87° 27′ and 87°57′E., with an area of 741 square miles. It measures about 40 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west; its width is greatest in the south and narrows down towards the north, at one point being only about 12 miles. To the north and east the boundary is the main stream of the Ganges, beyond which are the districts of Purnea and Mālda. To the west the boundary is formed by the Manjhwe Hills running from north to south, beyond which lie the Bhāgalpur district and the Goddā subdivision of this district. To the south the boundary is formed by an irregular line of hills and high land running from east to west, which form the watershed between the Gumāni and Bānsloi rivers; south of this line lie the Dumkā and Pākaur subdivisions of the Santāl Parganas and the Jangipur subdivision of the Murshidābād district.

The eastern portion of the subdivision and a narrow strip along the Ganges to the north consist of alluvial and *diāra* land of the kind so familiar in Bengal. The whole of the western portion, forming about three-fourths of the total area, consists of hills, valleys and pleasant undulating country. To the north the hills extend in an unbroken line running parallel to the Ganges

and leaving a narrow strip of level land between them and the river. To the east they run almost due north and south as far as the Gumāni river, except at one point where a wedge-shaped block projects to the east near Udhuā Nullah. All along their eastern face is a tract of low-lying country stretching down to the Ganges, which is very liable to floods. The south-east of the subdivision, however, on the borders of the Jangipur and Pākaur subdivisions, consists of undulating country with a gravelly soil.

There are two main ranges of hills, *viz.*, the Rājmahāl Hills to the east and the Manjhwe Hills to the west, which run parallel to one another from north to south at an average distance of some 10 miles. The Rājmahāl Hills extend as far as the point where the Gumāni river debouches into the plains; and the Manjhwe Hills run south till they meet the Gumāni near its source in the Goddā subdivision. These two ranges coalesce in the north and form a range running close to the river from east to west. South of the Gumāni there is another irregular range of hills running more or less from east to west, and forming the watershed between the Gumāni and Bānsloi rivers. The Ganges skirts the subdivision, and there are only two other rivers of any importance, viz., the Gumāni and its tributary the Morel or Moran. The valleys formed by these two rivers are among the most noticeable physical features of the subdivision. They are from four to eight miles broad, are very rich and fertile, and are studded with prosperous Santāl villages. The population of the subdivision was 276,703 in 1901, its density being 373 persons to the square mile. It contains one town, Sāhibganj, and 1,292 villages, one of which, Rājmahāl, is its headquarters. The greater portion of the subdivision is included in the Dāmin-i-koh.

Sāhibganj.—A town situated in the north-east of the Rājmahāl subdivision on the southern bank of the river Ganges. It extends over about 2 square miles along the Ganges and is intersected by the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Its situation is picturesque, for it occupies rising ground along the river bank and is backed by an amphitheatre of hills. A small hill to the south-west of the railway station commands a particularly fine view. Its population in 1901 was 7,558, but at the time of the census an outbreak of plague had caused a partial evacuation of the town, and its true population is probably about 12,000. The town has grown into importance as a trade centre since the construction of the railway. Local produce is received by river from the trans-Gangetic districts of Mālda, Purnea and North Bhāgalpur, while European goods are brought by rail for distribution to those districts. The principal articles of local trade are

rice, maize, other food-grains and *sabai* grass, which is brought down from the Rājmahāl Hills, pressed and exported in bales to Calcutta for the manufacture of paper. Sāhibganj was constituted a municipality in 1883, and the area within municipal limits is $1\frac{3}{4}$ square mile.

Sakrigali.—A village in the north-east of the Rājmahāl subdivision situated close to the Ganges, 6 miles east of Sāhibganj. It lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rājmahāl Hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll, on the top of which is an old tomb. The village derives its name from the Sakrigali pass, which in Muhammadan times was a pass of great strategic importance and the scene of several battles which have been mentioned in Chapter II. It consists of a narrow winding road, which must have been difficult to force when breastworks and trenches were built across it. According to Ives (1773) the road was 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through rock and hemmed in on either side by impenetrable jungle. He says that if a ball was discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road everywhere abounding with intricate windings. Raymond, the translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutākharin*, writing about 1789, describes it as follows:—"Sacry-gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side, and a chain of woody hills on the other: and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be 10 feet broad, and being overhanged with woods is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from Bahar into Bengal: but the chain of hills that borders it would, on inspection, afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 kept at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal." There are now no remains of fortifications, and this dreaded pass is merely a pretty lane.

The following description of the place was given by Bishop Heber in 1823:—"Sicligully is a little town, or rather village, of straw huts, with the ruinous bungalow and ruinous barracks of Mr. Cleveland's crops, at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges. The shore is rocky, and the country rises gradually in a succession of hill and dale to the mountains distant about three or four miles. The rocky eminence which I mentioned is quite insulated, and rather higher than the Red Castle Cliff at Hawkstone, which, from the fine timber growing on and round it, it a good deal resembles. I saw some ruins on the top, and on enquiry found that they were the remains of the tomb of a Mussulman saint, one of the conquerors of Bengal, and as devout as he was valiant. The tomb itself is well worth the

trouble of climbing the hill. It stands on a platform of rock, surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate very prettily ornamented and rock benches all round to sit or pray on. The 'Chamber of the tomb' is square, with a dome roof very neatly built, covered with excellent chunam, which, though 300 years old, remains entire, and having within it a carved stone mound, like the hillocks in an English churchyard, where sleeps the scourge of the idolaters. The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, etc., have long been discontinued, but I was told it was the general opinion both of Mussulmans and Hindoos that every Thursday night a tiger comes, couches close to the grave and remains there till morning." According to Ives the tomb is that of Saiyad Ahmad Makhdūm and was built by Shaista Khān, the uncle of Aurangzeb. Close to the village of Sakrigāli is a small bazar called Paltanganj, which is so called from its having contained the barracks of the Pahāria corps raised by Cleveland. The name Sakrigali is probably derived from *sakra* (from the Sanskrit *sangkirna*), meaning narrow, and *gali*, meaning a path.*

Sankara.—An estate in the Dumkā subdivision extending over 50 square miles and comprising 107 villages. The following sketch of its history has been prepared from a note contributed by the Deputy Commissioner. The estate appears to have been granted as a *lākhirāj* property to one Jay Singh by Asadullā Zamān Khān, who was Rājā of Nagar in Bīrbhūm in the 18th century. In 1840 it was resumed by Government and temporarily settled with the heirs of Jay Singh, and in 1845 it was resettled with Digbijay Singh, grandson of Sumar Singh, who again was the grandson of Jay Singh. Digbijay Singh was killed during the Santāl insurrection of 1855 on the eastern emkankment of a tank close to his house at Gando; a withered *sāl* tree marks the spot at which he met his death. The estate was then taken under the management of the Court of Wards, and was farmed out to Mr. G. H. Grant of Bhāgalpur for a period of 10 years from May 1856 to April 1866, on the expiry of which the lease was renewed for another 5 years. In the meantime, in 1865, the estate was permanently settled, the annual land revenue demand being fixed at Rs. 2,765-9. A settlement of rent was carried out by Mr. Browne Wood in 1875-76, the aggregate rental payable by the ryots being fixed at Rs. 14,322. A resettlement was carried out by Mr. Craven in 1891-92, the effect of which was to increase the rental to Rs. 20,269-8. A revision of the settlement is now being carried out by Mr. Allanson.

* H. Beveridge, *Sāhibganj and Rājmahāl*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 71-72.

The estate is at present held by Siva Sundarī, the daughter of Digbijay Singh, who resides at Gando and is generally known as the Gando Rānī. The members of the family call themselves Kumārbhāg Pahārias and are believed to be of the same stock as the Māl Pahārias in the Dumkā subdivision, amongst whom they have a number of relatives. The estate derives its name from the village of Sankara, once the family residence, which lies in the Dāmin-i-koh, on the northern side of the river Brāhmanī, which separates the two estates. It is said that before the family settled at Gando they used to live at Pathaithān, where they migrated from Brindāban. The family also appears to have lived for a time at Murgathali on the Punsia Hills and before that at Dighi near the Singhin Hills. The latter hills are closely connected with the traditions of the family; and the family deity Singhabāhinī (rider of the lion), one of the names of the ten-armed Durgā, is supposed to reside in a cave in them. Human sacrifices used to be offered to her, the last rite of this nature being performed under the orders of Prithi Singh, an uncle of Digbijay Singh. Prithi Singh escaped the gallows, but his associates paid the extreme penalty of the law on the other side of the Dumkā *bāndh* at a spot known to this day as *Phānsia dangal* (the hanging ground).* The misfortunes of the family are ascribed to the wrath of this goddess, who even now is supposed to appear in visions and ask for human sacrifices.

Further information regarding the estate is given by Mr. W. B. Oldham in his work *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwān District.* "Sankara is the name of the group of hills south-west of the present Dāmin-i-koh, which, though part of the original Dāmin-i-koh recognized by Cleveland, were cut off from it in the years 1826 to 1833 by that extremely self-willed and autocratic officer, the Hon'ble John Petty Ward when he was forming the present ring-fence in those years. Cleveland made no distinction between the Maler and the Māl, and conferred a set of his stipends on the Māls of Sankara, and of course, with them, the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Bīrbhūm zamīndāri, close to the cleared country, and easily accessible; and the chief of Cleveland's time, Tribhuban Singh by name, more resembled a petty *tālukdār* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was, in fact, a

* Mr. W. B. Oldham writes in *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*:—"In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction, and, to avert the impending ruin, the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri trader on the top of Singini Math (the horned head), their highest hill.

plainsman. His son, Sumar Singh, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Pahāria with the cunning and litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Surī, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *tāluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Dāmin-i-koh, and in doing so had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognized by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the south-west of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently-settled tracts in the midst of which it lay It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Singh, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the Sankara stipends, which continued to be paid till 1879, when I resumed them. Sumar Singh, meanwhile, retained his ill-gotten territory and the title of Rājā; and in the litigation which followed his death the *Dāyabhāga* was claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council. The present ward, his grand-daughter Sibu Sundarī, is still called Rānī in her own little court."

Sarath Deoghar.—A *tappa* in the south of the district comprising the whole of the Deoghar subdivision and part of the Dumkā and Jāmtārā subdivisions. The whole *tappa*, except a few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghātwālis*, some of which form very considerable *tāluks*. These *ghātwālis* are governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, which is in force only in Sarath Deoghar.

Sultānābād.—A *pargana* in the Pākaur subdivision within the jurisdiction of the Maheshpur and Pākuriā police stations. The traditional history of the *pargana* is as follows It was originally a thick jungle, infested by wild animals, in which the Pahārias settled under a chief called Chānd Sardār. He lived at a place, about 6 miles north of Maheshpur, which was called after him Chāndpur; the name is still met with in old records and maps, but the modern name of the village is Amlagāchi In course of time, Hindus and Muhammadans came and settled in this tract, one of their leaders being Sultān Shāh, who settled at a place 4 miles south of Maheshpur, where the present village of Dum-Dum is situated. Sultān Shāh reclaimed the jungle here and built a mosque, which is still in existence though in a ruinous state. It is regarded with veneration both by the Hindus and Muhammadans of the locality, who call it Shabamuddin Shāh's

dargāh. The place where Sultān Shāh lived was named after him Sultānābād, and that name was given to the surrounding country.

According to the chronicles of the Maheshpur family Sultānābād was conquered by two brothers Abu Singh and Baku Singh, who came from Gorakhpur with a number of followers on a visit to their relative, the Rājā of Kharagpur, and in alliance with him defeated all the zamīndārs of the country. The elder brother, Baku Singh, became ruler of the greater part of the tract thus conquered and established his capital at Maheshpur. He was the founder of the Maheshpur Rāj family, which is still in possession of Sultānābād. The younger brother, Abu Singh, took what was left and reclaimed a large area of hill and jungle. The two brothers, having secured themselves in possession, obtained recognition from the Nawāb of Bengal, to whom Baku Singh sent every year some forest produce as tribute. His brother Abu Singh settled among the Pahārias and is said to have married a Pahāria woman. Of the descendants of Baku Singh there is nothing of interest to record till we come to Garjan Singh, who held the estate from 1161 to 1165 of the Bengali era (A.D. 1754-58). During his time bands of Marāthā freebooters passed through Sultānābād, and some of them are said to have been defeated by Garjan Singh and driven across the Ganges. In order to save himself and his family from their attacks Garjan Singh had subterranean rooms built in Maheshpur, the ruins of which may be seen to this day. On the death of Garjan Singh without issue his widow, Rānī Sarbeswarī, succeeded to the Rāj and was in possession when the British rule began.

The *pargana* was at first included in the Rājshāhi Division, but was brought under the hill system by Cleveland in 1781. Two years later Rānī Sarbeswarī was tried and deposed by him in consequence of her instigating the depredations of the Māl Pahārias, but in 1791 the estate was restored to Makum Singh, a nephew of Garjan Singh, with whom a settlement was effected in 1799. On his death in 1803 the estate was held first by his widow and then by his grandson, Raghunāth Singh, who was succeeded in 1832 by his sister Jānaki Kumāri Devī, who held the estate till 1888. Her husband was Gopāl Chandra Singh, a Rājput of Gorakhpur, who received the title of Rājā in 1872 and of Mahārājā in 1875. In 1888, four years before her death, Jānkī Kumārī made over the property to her youngest son Indra Nārāyan Singh, on whose death in 1892 it passed to his four minor sons, Jogendra, Debendra, Gyanendra and Phanindra, with their mother Rānī Rādhā Pyārī Devī as their guardian. The

estate was taken over by the Court of Wards in 1907 on their joint application. The headquarters of the estate are at Maheshpur.

Several places in the *pargana* are the subject of local legends. Haripur, 14 miles south-east of Maheshpur, is said to have been the residence of one Hari Singh and contains the ruins of large tanks and Saiva temples. Two miles north-west of Haripur there is a Santāl village formerly known as Sibpur, with the ruins of five Saiva temples, close to which is a sulphurous spring. About a mile east of Maheshpur is Garhbāri, said to have been the residence of Kaidar Rai, an officer in the employ of the Nawāb of Murshidābād, who having incurred the displeasure of the Nawāb sought shelter here. Devīnagar, about six miles south-west of Maheshpur, was once the residence of Lālā Uday Nārāyan, a Bhojpuri officer in the service of the Nawāb of Murshidābād. Ruins of houses and temples attributed to him are still extant, and among the inhabitants of the village there are a number of Bhojpuris. Near Devīnagar there are two smaller villages called Kotālpokhar and Akdāsāl. It is believed that the Kotāls or Kotwāls (*i.e.*, guards) of Lālā Uday Nārāyan were stationed in Kotālpokhar in order to guard his houses and property, and at Akdāsāl was the *akhrā* (or wrestling ground) of his soldiers and retainers. There was also a road constructed from Devīnagar to Murshidābād, which can still be traced.

Teliāgarhi.—A ruined fort situated 7 miles east of Sāhibganj close to the East Indian Railway line. It stands on a plateau on the lower slope of the Rājmahāl Hills, at the foot of which the Ganges formerly flowed: tradition, indeed, says that soldiers used to sit on the walls with fishing rods and catch fish from the river below. Owing to its position it was a place of great strategic importance, and was known as "the key of Bengal." Ives gives the following account of it as it appeared in 1757. "This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at Sicarigully, with thick woods and jungle; and hath this further impediment, that very near to the wall runs a rivulet, on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion wall, which is about 14 feet high and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be three-fourths of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform." The translator of the

Sair-ul-Mutākharin, however, writing at the close of the 18th century, had no great opinion of its strength. "Telia-Garry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extends from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges. It has neither ditch nor rampart, and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly anything of artillery. Else a battery of 24 pounders would make a breach in it in half a day: and a couple of mortars placed upon the brow of the hill would destroy every man and every building in the fort."

The Ganges, having changed its course and formed a large *char*, is now far away from Teliāgarhī, the East Indian Railway line now running close to the fort. The fort, moreover, has fallen into ruins; but long walls, made of stones and bricks in alternate courses, may still be seen to the north, east and west. There are gates in the eastern and western sides, and the length of the walls is approximately 250 feet. To the south the adjoining hill formed a natural protection. The northern wall has three octagonal pavilions, one at each end and one in the centre. Inside there are several rooms along the walls, and a small mosque with three domes stands in the north-western corner; while in the south-eastern corner an old bath still exists. To the north, in the plain, are traces of more ancient buildings, but they are in utter ruin. Carved stones, such as are found at Gaur, are lying among the debris, and perhaps a mosque in the old Bengali style existed here. Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli zamīndār who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islām, but it seems more likely that the derivation is *teliā*, a Hindī word meaning black, which would naturally be applied to the fortress on account of the black stones used in building it.*

Udhuā Nullah.—A village on the bank of the Ganges situated 6 miles south of Rājmahāl, close to which the battle of Udhuā Nullah was fought on the 5th September 1763. The following description of the battle is given by Broome in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*:—"The position selected by the enemy was one of exceeding strength, to add to which no pains or expense had been spared. It commanded the main and only road, and extended across the gorge formed between the Ganges and the Rājmahāl Hills, a steep spur of which ran out and narrowed the pass at this particular point. A deep morass extended along the front of the lines from near the foot of the hills to within less than 100 yards from the river, along which

* H. Beveridge, *Sāhibganj and Rājmahāl*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 67-70.

narrow strip ran the road. The left of the intrenchment rested on the river; from hence it ran in a south-westerly direction for about a mile, when it abutted upon a steep isolated hill which was strongly fortified and garrisoned. From this it again branched off in a more southerly direction up to the main spur of the mountains, amongst the ravines and scarped precipices of which it finally terminated. The whole of this line of works was of recent construction; the ramparts were about 60 feet thick and 10 high, surmounted by a parapet of about 18 feet thick and 7 feet high; and in front, along the whole line on the plain, ran a deep ditch of 60 feet wide and about 12 deep. Batteries were erected at convenient intervals, and upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were mounted upon them. Some distance to the rear was the old line of works, and the Oodwah Nullah, from which the pass derived its name, the steep banks of which formed a natural defence of themselves. Across this a stone bridge had been thrown, where a strong guard was stationed; and in the interval the whole of the army was encamped. The force collected here comprised all the troops that had escaped from Gherriah, with the reinforcements sent by Meer Kossim Khan, the whole amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, including the regular Brigades of Sumroo, Markar and Aratoon.

"The only accessible point was along the bank of the river, and to attack this the army now bent their endeavours. Fascines and gabions were constructed, approaches lined out, and batteries thrown up with considerable skill, the troops, Europeans and natives, working with cheerfulness and alacrity; but the progress of these operations was very slow, owing to the limited means at command. The force was moreover constantly harassed by parties of the enemy stealing out of the intrenchments near the foot of the hills, and fording the morass before daylight. This compelled Major Adams to extend his camp to the left and throw up an intrenchment in front, his right resting on the river and his left on a branch of the morass. The King's and Company's Battalions were in the centre, the Sipahi Battalions divided on the flanks; a strong guard of Sipahis was pushed forward to the right to support the parties in the trenches, to which the artillery, the paucity of whose numbers could admit of no relief, were entirely confined. The Company of Volunteers under Captain Wedderburn and the three Companies of Captain MacLean's Battalion that had recently arrived, were stationed in the boats for the defence of the stores and the command of the river. In these tedious operations nearly a month was consumed. At length, on the 4th of September, three batteries had been erected, the nearest

of which was within 300 yards of the fortifications, on the massive ramparts of which the Artillery of the English could make but little impression, although all the siege guns of the force had been disembarked from the boats. A small breach was effected, however, close to the gateway near the river, but of a very imperfect nature, and success, if not hopeless, appeared very distant.

"On that day a European soldier of Meer Kossim Khan's army, originally a deserter from the Company's service, came in and offered, on condition of pardon, to point out a ford through the morass by which the troops might cross and attack the left of the entrenchment. That such a ford did exist the previous attacks of the enemy had proved, and the proposition was readily embraced. Arrangements were accordingly made that night, and the following morning the Grenadiers of the 84th Regiment and those of the European Battalion, with two Battalions of Sipahis, of which Captain Broadbrook's (the present 1st Native Infantry) was one, got under arms three hours before daybreak, the whole under the command of Captain James Irving; whilst the remainder of the force, leaving a sufficient guard in camp, moved quietly into the trenches, with the intention of making a false attack to attract the enemy's attention, which was to be converted into a real attack if circumstances permitted. This latter party was commanded by Captain Moran, and a reserve column was held in readiness under Major Carnac to act as might be found advisable.

"The detachment under Captain Irving crossed the morass with great difficulty, the men being obliged to carry their arms and pouches on their heads to save them from getting wet. They succeeded, however, in reaching the intrenchment without being discovered, and there being no ditch at that point, they planted the scaling ladders they had purposely brought and mounted the rampart. This was close to the isolated hill already mentioned, and as the latter was strongly stockaded on the summit and might be looked upon as the key of the position, Captain Irving determined to ascend and endeavour to carry it by surprise. Strict orders were given to the men on no account to fire, but to trust solely to the bayonet, and several of the enemy, who were found lying asleep under the parapet, received their passports into eternity from that silent and deadly weapon. Before the party reached the summit the alarm was given, but too late; the Grenadiers rushed forward, closely followed by the Sipahis, and in a few minutes they were masters of the stockade and not one of the enemy left alive.

"A *mussaul* that had been brought for the purpose was now lighted and held aloft as the preconcerted signal for the party in the

trenches. The Artillery from the advance battery opened a sudden and heavy fire upon the breach, until the party under Captain Moran had got close to it. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch, and when this was effected, the breach was found to be very steep and only wide enough for one person. The enemy, however, distracted by the varied attack, made but a feeble resistance, and a sufficient party having ascended by means of scaling ladders opened the gates to their comrades. The whole force now rushed in and, as previously agreed upon, turned to their left, whilst Captain Irving's party having moved to the right, the whole united, and a fearful scene of carnage ensued.

"It was yet barely daylight, and the enemy, confounded by the suddenness of the attack coming from several quarters, were thrown into inextricable confusion, to add to which, their own guard stationed at the bridge over the nullah had orders to fire upon any one attempting to cross, with a view of compelling the troops to resistance—a duty which was performed with fearful effect. A heap of dead speedily blocked up that passage and forced the fugitives to look for some other channel of escape. Many threw themselves into the river and were drowned, others attempted to cross the Oodwah, but the steepness of the banks, and the pressure and confusion of the panic-struck crowd, caused a vast sacrifice of life. The greater portion of those who escaped got off by skirting the hills, and many perished amongst the difficulties and precipices of that route. A few attempted to make a stand in the old lines, but they were speedily overpowered and destroyed; 15,000 are said to have perished in this attack and during the flight. To the credit of the English no unnecessary slaughter was committed; after being once assured of success, none fell by their hands save those in actual opposition. An immense number of prisoners were taken, including several officers of rank, all of whom were kindly treated and subsequently released. The great casualty was chiefly attributable to the panic, the confusion, and the darkness, as also to the usual mode of egress being closed. The loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable, the only officer whose death is recorded being the gallant Captain Broadbrook, who had so long commanded the 1st Battalion of Sipahis. Lieutenant Hampton was also severely wounded. Upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were captured, besides a vast quantity of military stores, and so complete was the overthrow, that the enemy never attempted to rally either at Rajmahal, which was fortified, or in the Sickreegullee or Teereeahgullee passes, either of which was equally tenable with that of Oodwah Nullah—and the wearied fugitives, arriving in

the neighbourhood of Mongheer, brought the first intelligence to Meer Kossim Khan of the disaster that had befallen his army.

"When the difficulties of the undertaking, the enormous disproportion of the forces, and the completeness of the result are considered, this must be acknowledged to have been a most extraordinary and brilliant achievement; and though the success was attributable to the surprise, the siege operations, considering the means, were highly creditable to the army, more especially when it is remembered how little practical knowledge either officers or men could have possessed of that description of warfare."

The lines of entrenchment can still be traced, and an arch of the bridge over the *nullah* is still standing. The *jhil* on the right. through which the British troops waded on the night of the surprise, is part of the great *jhil* through which the railway line passes between Tinpahār and Rājmahā.

Vaidyanath—*See* Deoghar.

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